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"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF MANKIND." — *Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*

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NATIONALIST

MAY, 1889.

HOW I CAME TO WRITE "LOOKING BACKWARD"	<i>Edward Bellamy.</i>
OURSERS OF TIME (Poem)	<i>Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson.</i>
FREEDOM'S LAST WAR—CRY	<i>Gen. Arthur F. Devereux.</i>
WHAT IS NATIONALISM?	<i>Sylvester Baxter.</i>
THE NATIONALIST PIONEERS (Poem)	<i>Henry Willard Austin.</i>
THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY	<i>John Ransom Bridge.</i>
THE NATIONALIST CLUB OF BOSTON (A chapter of History)	<i>Cyrus Field Willard.</i>
EDITORIAL NOTES.	
NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.	
MONOPOLIES OF MUNICIPAL SERVICE	<i>Arthur Hildreth.</i>
MONTHLY IMMORTALITY (Poem)	

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes ; we make no war upon individuals ; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organized—the organic unity of the whole people.

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces : it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest : for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

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Grates
THE NATIONALIST.

HOW I CAME TO WRITE "LOOKING BACKWARD".

I ACCEPT more readily the invitation to tell in THE NATIONALIST how I came to write *Looking Backward* for the reason that it will afford an opportunity to clear up certain points on which inquiries have been frequently addressed to me. I never had, previous to the publication of the work, any affiliations with any class or sect of industrial or social reformers nor, to make my confession complete, any particular sympathy with undertakings of the sort. It is only just to myself to say, however, that this should not be taken to indicate any indifference to the miserable condition of the mass of humanity, seeing that it resulted rather from a perception all too clear of the depth and breadth of the social problem and a consequent skepticism as to the effectiveness of the proposed solutions which had come to my notice.

In undertaking to write *Looking Backward* I had, at the outset, no idea of attempting a serious contribution to the movement of social reform. The idea was of a mere literary fantasy, a fairy tale of social felicity. There was no thought of contriving a house which practical men might live in, but merely of hanging in mid-air, far out of reach of the sordid and material world of the present, a cloud-palace for an ideal humanity.

In order to secure plenty of elbow room for the fancy and prevent awkward collisions between the ideal structure and the hard facts of the real world, I fixed the date of the story in the year A. D. 3000. As to what might be in A. D. 3000 one man's opinion was as good as another's, and my fantasy of the social system of that day only required to be consistent with itself to defy criticism. Emboldened by the impunity my isolated position secured me, I was satisfied with nothing less than the whole earth for my social

palace. In its present form the story is a romance of the ideal nation, but in its first form it was a romance of an ideal world. In the first draft of *Looking Backward*, though the immediate scene was laid in America (in Asheville, North Carolina, instead of Boston, by the way,) the United States was supposed to be merely an administrative province of the great World Nation, whose affairs were directed from the World Capital which was declared to be the city of Berne, in Switzerland. The action of the story was made to begin in the thirtieth century.

The opening scene was a grand parade of a departmental division of the industrial army on the occasion of the annual muster day when the young men coming of age that year were mustered into the national service and those who that year had reached the age of exemption were mustered out. That chapter always pleased me and it was with some regrets that I left it out of the final draft. The solemn pageantry of the great festival of the year, the impressive ceremonial of the oath of duty taken by the new recruits in presence of the world-standard, the formal return of the thanks of humanity to the veterans who received their honorable dismissal from service, the review and march past of the entire body of the local industrial forces, each battalion with its appropriate insignia, the triumphal arches, the garlanded streets, the banquets, the music, the open theatres and pleasure gardens, with all the features of a gala day sacred to the civic virtues and the enthusiasm of humanity, furnished materials for a picture exhilarating at least to the painter.

The idea of committing the duty of maintaining the community to an industrial army, precisely as the duty of protecting it is entrusted to a military army, was directly suggested to me by the grand object lesson of the organization of an entire people for national purposes presented by the military system of universal service for fixed and equal terms, which has been practically adopted by the nations of Europe and theoretically adopted everywhere else as the only just and only effectual plan of public defense on a great scale. What inference could possibly be more obvious and more unquestionable than the advisability of trying to see if a plan which

was found to work so well for purposes of destruction might not be profitably applied to the business of production now in such shocking confusion. But while this idea had for some time been vaguely floating in my mind, for a year or two I think at least, I had been far from realizing all that was in it, and only thought then of utilizing it as an analogy to lend an effect of feasibility to the fancy sketch I had in hand. It was not till I began to work out the details of the scheme by way of explaining how the people of the thirtieth century disposed of the awkward problems of labor and avoided the evils of a classified society that I perceived the full potency of the instrument I was using and recognized in the modern military system not merely a rhetorical analogy for a national industrial service, but its prototype, furnishing at once a complete working model for its organization, an arsenal of patriotic and national motives and arguments for its animation, and the unanswerable demonstration of its feasibility drawn from the actual experience of whole nations organized and manoeuvred as armies.

Something in this way it was that, no thanks to myself, I stumbled over the destined corner-stone of the new social order. It scarcely needs to be said that having once apprehended it for what it was, it became a matter of pressing importance to me to show it in the same light to other people. This led to a complete recasting, both in form and purpose, of the book I was engaged upon. Instead of a mere fairy tale of social perfection, it became the vehicle of a definite scheme of industrial reorganization. The form of a romance was retained, although with some impatience, in the hope of inducing the more to give it at least a reading. Barely enough story was left to decently drape the skeleton of the argument and not enough, I fear, in spots, for even that purpose. A great deal of merely fanciful matter concerning the manners, customs, social and political institutions, mechanical contrivances, and so forth of the people of the thirtieth century, which had been intended for the book, was cut out for fear of diverting the attention of readers from the main theme. Instead of the year A. D. 3000, that of A. D. 2000 was fixed upon as the date of the story. Ten centuries had at first seemed to me none too much to allow for the evolution of

anything like an ideal society, but with my new belief as to the part which the National organization of industry is to play in bringing in the good time coming, it appeared to me reasonable to suppose that by the year 2000 the order of things which we look forward to will already have become an exceedingly old story. This conviction as to the shortness of the time in which the hope of Nationalization is to be realized by the birth of the new, and the first true, nation, I wish to say, is one which every day's reflection and observation, since the publication of *Looking Backward*, has tended to confirm.

The same clearer conviction as to the method by which this great change is to come about, which caused me to shorten so greatly my estimate of the time in which it was to be accomplished, necessitated the substitution of the conception of a separate national evolution for the original idea of a homogeneous world-wide social system. The year 3000 may, indeed, see something of that sort, but not the year 2000. It would be preposterous to assume parity of progress between America and Turkey. The more advanced nations, ours surely first of all, will reach the summit earliest and, reaching strong brotherly hands downward, help up the laggards.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

The June NATIONALIST will have a special article by one of the ablest preachers of Boston, Rabbi Solomon Schindler.

HEIRS OF TIME.

INSCRIBED TO EDWARD BELLAMY.

*Aucun homme ne peut aliéner sa souveraineté parcequ'il ne peut abdiquer sa nature ou cesser d'être homme ; et de la souveraineté de chaque individu naît, dans la société, la souveraineté collective de tous, ou la souveraineté du peuple, également inaliénable.—ABBE DE LA MENNAIS, *Le Livre du Peuple*. (1837.)

From street and square, from hill and glebe
Of this vast world beyond my door
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps
Hangs, a vast torchlight, in the air ;
I watch it through the evening damps ;
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,
Their title-deeds not yet made plain ;
But waking early, toiling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest-fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed pulse grow calm and still ;
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

Some day, without a trumpet's call,
This news will o'er the world be blown :
"The heritage comes back to all !
The myriad monarchs take their own !"

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

*No man can alienate his own sovereignty, because he cannot abdicate his own nature or cease to be a man ; and from the sovereignty of each individual springs, in society, the collective sovereignty of the people, equally inalienable.

FREEDOM'S LAST WAR-CRY.

THE highest proof of worth resting somewhere in common human nature is furnished by occasional outbursts of extraordinary unselfishness. To be sure, extraordinary circumstances must exist to arouse this sentiment, but the proper appeal always meets ample response. The women of Carthage and Saragossa made the siege of either place grand memories of self-sacrifice.

Thermopylae had but one survivor to become infamous. The opening of the French Revolution found France without an army, wanting in a general, bankrupt in its treasury, but its people, abandoning all else, marched without leaders or commissariat to the frontier and drove from her borders all Europe—leagued in in arms to crush her with trained troops ably commanded—and our own Revolution and the late war showed that the capacity to suffer and make sacrifices has not been permitted to leave the bosoms of men.

Call this what you please—patriotism or the infinitely lower impulse, love of glory—the fact remains that great emergencies never fail to secure the aid to meet them. Down to the present all calls for such devotion were in times or acts of war. Superficially considered it would seem that it could only be evoked at such times and for such purposes, giving the idea that man's essential nature was for war and war only.

But we have some remarkable evidence to disprove this false impression. When Wellington was Premier of England one of the periodic misunderstandings between that country and France came up. The immovable serenity of the then English Government caused an astonished growl and the columns of the Thunderer were freely invoked to call the attention of the ministry to the fact that the Lion's Tail was being badly twisted and that it must stop.

No response coming to this, a friend ventured on a personal appeal to the Iron Duke accompanied with suggestions.

"But that means war" was the reply he met.

"Yes, your Grace—but to the commander of armies in so many battles, where he was never defeated, surely war has no terrors!"

"It is just because I have seen so many battles and know the miseries, the suffering and destruction of war that I will have no war" was the blunt answer of the Duke and that settled it. Our own great chieftain Grant uttered the memorable words "Let us have Peace." In fact, any person whose life experience recalls the sights and scenes of actual warfare will echo the sentiments of both men. They would be the last to urge nations or communities to mortal strife unless compelled by national honor or high principle at stake.

Now in what respect does the internecine strife of individuals, under the false and brutal system of civilized man today, differ from the bickerings and jealousies of great powers except that it is always present, in our very midst and at every hearthstone? Is there nothing in the experience of those who have witnessed this setting free of the worst passions of our nature on a grand scale, to give warning of the terrors of the time when the accumulated want, misery and misfortune of the world shall have burst all bonds of restraint by its very volume, toppled the commonwealth into a mass of ruin and placed every man in deadly hostile hate against his brother?

Will the world forever go on tempting its fate to the downfall of every effort towards a higher and fuller civilization? Is there no road for mankind except over the precipice and can we in the light of the new religion of humanity, now so ably preached, sit idly by and see the procession go on to its inevitable destruction?

It seems to me there can be but one answer to this: "We will have PEACE, for we must not have WAR;" and we can, by demanding that justice from man to man which alone is needed to secure Peace.

Only a short while ago it would have been folly to hope; today it is worse than folly to think of despair. For events are compelling the most cast-iron mould of conservatism to ring out under the hammer of coercive thought.

So every effort should be made to rouse in all minds the sense of danger from inaction and indifference by pointing out the clearly defined way. Let the last battle cry of freedom be "Peace" "Peace," and if we insist on it we can have it.

"In the morning burst the sunlight,
All doubt had disappeared."

ARTHUR F. DEVEREUX.

WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

A nation, according to the derivation of the world, is an association of people of common birth; that is, of individuals acting together for common interest. "A nation is the unity of a people," says Coleridge. Therefore, the force of Nationalism began to operate when man first found it for his interest to act in association with his fellows. Its end will have been accomplished, when men realize in their actions, to its fullest extent, the truth so forcefully expressed in the noble motto of our country: "In Union there is strength." Therefore in making Nationalism the basis of a great popular movement — political, economical and ethical — we are but acting in harmony with the evolutionary force that first brought men into association with each other; we are advancing the action of that mighty force, and working for the good of the race by pointing to the inevitableness as well as the beneficence of its results, and the futility of selfish striving against it.

The national organization has been from the start, by the very virtue of its origin, an instrument for attaining certain ends found to be desirable, and only possible of accomplishment under organized action; as, for instance, mutual defence, aggression, and the maintenance of order within the community. With the growth of intelligence and the possession of means for operation on a large scale through the devices of modern science, we are now beginning to perceive the possibility of using the national organization for the performance, with the utmost of economy and efficiency, of *all* the manifold services for which men, under various motives of greed and necessity, now unite to render to each other, unequally. We see the nation, or the community, already performing, under an inadequate system, many of these services with a satisfactoriness such as could come from no other method. No one except the most obdurate doctrinaires in the school of individualism would think of returning to "private enterprise" for the performance of these offices.

The service rendered by private enterprise, though only existing because of the public demand, has the benefit of the public only incidentally in view; the main consideration being the largest pos-

sible profit to those concerned in providing the service, and the accommodation of the public being limited accordingly. A case in point: A telephone company and an electric railway company are in conflict over the interference of the wires of one system with those of the other, Each is looking out for its own interests and neither cares a straw how much harm its own operation may work to the other. But the public, which is served by them both, does care, and suffers greatly by the conflict. Imagine this same conflict extended and going on between all the diverse interests of this country, and we have a correct picture of the present condition of things! With all this friction, is it any wonder that the machine works painfully?

But let the public authority take the telephone and the railway in charge—as has already been done in some sufficiently enlightened countries—and operate them solely for the benefit of the public they were designed to serve, instead of for the profit of a few individuals or sets of individuals, and how long would the clash of interests last? Contests would still go on between the various private interests outside, but they would never break out between the services rendered for the public by the public.

The tendency is now strongly towards public control; no hard and fast line can be drawn between the classes of service that should be public and those that should remain in private hands, and any attempt to define the difference is futile. As the benefits coming from public control will be manifest more and more plainly while service after service is drawn in, the movement will be accelerated in response to popular demand.

The result will be that eventually all industrial services will be assumed by the nation—performed by the people, for the people. The economic gain from the avoidance of the waste of competition which will thus ensue is plainly evident; and from an ethical point of view no one can deny the superior morality of conduct when men, through an enlightened self-interest, perceive how much better the individual fares when each works for the good of all, and consequently all for the good of each, instead of each for himself and against all others—and therefore against himself also through the

antagonism from all the others working also with selfish motives.

The course of evolution is in a spiral; from the simple, through the complex, and back to the perfected simplicity of a higher grade. This is shown in the development of human society. When man rose through savagery, drilled in the hard school of competition, and finally settled down into towns, living by tilling the ground, the first degree in his progress under Nationalism was attained. Through voluntary co-operation, great irrigating canals were built in the desert, fields were cultivated, grain was stored, food was prepared, and temples were reared. Indeed, Nationalism has been proved practical. Ancient Peru was a grand co-operative nation, in which, as Prescott records, there was no such thing as poverty.

But in the progress of general humanity up towards higher grades of civilization the fierce struggle for existence was renewed, and in the conflict were evolved the fruits gained under the stimulus of competitive effort. We have obtained the fruits, their seeds are ours and under the un wasteful methods of the new and peaceful tillage they will germinate, blossom and ripen into richer, sweeter flavors than the world has ever known.

The ends of Nationalism will be sought by rational, peaceful means. As the public becomes prepared for it, industry after industry will be assumed by the national authority. As the postal service was taken in charge long ago, so the allied functions of telegraph, telephone, and railway will soon follow. Then will come the next great step in the nationalization of the manufactures.

This to many minds may seem a startling statement, but we are being compelled towards this by the rapid consolidation of industries under the form of trusts now going on; and a life-and-death struggle between public and private interests appears to be impending, with the question as to whether the great combinations of capital, with their power to shape legislation by competition, will govern the people, with nothing of the republic left but the mockery of its mantling forms; or whether the people will continue in fact to govern themselves, as they originally set out to do. But under the new conditions real self-government will be found impossible without a complete nationalization of all industrial activity.

We shall thus reach the higher and perfected simplicity. The intricate complexity of multitudinous industrial antagonisms, keeping the national body in a chronic state of disease through the incomplete working of its various functions, will be reduced to simplicity by bringing all the diversified interests into harmonious and mutually helpful action under one central authority, while preserving the many separate fields of action suitable to differing individual capacity. An industrial army, more completely organized and disciplined than is the best army of war today, will thus be necessitated for the operation of the vast national service.

With all transactions confined to the individual on the one side and the nation on the other, the individual is thus dealing with himself in the higher aspect—the great entity composed of himself blended with all his fellows; and then there will be no occasion for the use of money; all the superfluous activity connected today with a mere tool will fall away.

The system of compensation according to service rendered, which many of the most radical reformers still desire to retain under a new order, will be found impracticable, for it will be impossible to fix upon any just measure of service value. Therefore, one of the cardinal tenets of Nationalism to be constantly held in view as a desirable goal, must be an equality of livelihood guaranteed by the nation to all the members of the national partnership. In this connection a letter from Edward Bellamy may be quoted:

“I am profoundly anxious to impress upon everybody that the principle of *equality* in the provision made for the physical wants of all, *must* be urged in any new social order which is to be free from the characteristic vices and defects of the present system. Once consent, on whatever specious ground, that the principle of *inequality* in the rate of maintenance for citizens shall be retained, and you retain the root and germs of all the evils we are trying to get rid of, and it is only a question of time when they would be flourishing again. Certainly, *Looking Backward* and the whole system of society which it proposes is based upon equality in the material conditions of citizens, and stands or falls with that idea. Compromise on this point is impossible without giving up all our organization stands for distinctively. There is no argument against equality which will hold water for a moment. There is absolutely no answer

to the proposition that the bodily needs of all are the same, and therefore, under any humane and rational arrangement of society, the provision for them must be the same. Even under the present brutal system, which leaves the means of livelihood to be fought for by men, half the energies of men are called forth by emulation for non-sordid honors and distinctions. All the good work of the world has always been prompted by this sort of emulation, or by the sense of duty and the natural demand of human faculties for expression in achievement."

The aim of Nationalism is to realize the possibilities of the national organization in performing directly, for the benefit of all the individuals composing it, all the services which may be best rendered by action in unison. Under modern conditions, this comprises all industrial activities.

Nationalism is the only possible means for giving effective force to the grand words: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

It will assure freedom to the individual in all things where the word means a liberty of action that will not interfere with the freedom of others.

It will assure equal opportunity to each individual to make the best of his faculties and attainments.

It will assure fraternity among men by practically showing them that the true interest of each lies in a regard for and promotion of the interest of all.

SYLVESTER BAXTER.

THE NATIONALIST PIONEERS.

Not heralded with thunder of dull drums,
 Or cannon booming round the echoy hills,
 Not armed with swords, but thoughts, our army comes;
 Yet through its ranks a grander music thrills
 Than ever cheered the charge on fiery field
 Where man for man has offered up his life:
 We know how long and strong may be the strife,
 But Right fights with us and we dare not yield:
 Else, having seen the light and heard the song
 Of that most Holy Hill, the prophets' place,
 If we should falter 'gainst the present wrong,
 How could we look our brothers in the face?

HENRY WILLARD AUSTIN.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY.

The Nationalist Club heads its declaration of principles with the statement that "The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature." With this principle for the base of the new social structure whose outlines have been sketched in *Looking Backward*, the club builds on a foundation that represents the highest ideal of human relationship,—the goal toward which, from time immemorial, humanity has been unconsciously working. Man came within the sweep of this higher law when, for self-protection, he first united his strength with that of his kind. From then until the present he has been moving, by imperceptible degrees, toward a point which, when attained, will mark his conception of the organic unity of the human family and a practical realization of the nobility of human brotherhood. This upward spiral course seems to follow the law of natural growth. Through long periods of time a race will slowly develop, and then bud and blossom, as do some plants, almost in a night. It is when a civilization is in its flower and before its petals loosen that there seems to come a crisis, a moment of opportunity, which, if taken advantage of, would ultimately lead to a new order of social life—the fruitage after the blossom.

On the rocky shore of Monument Bay, Plymouth, some far-sighted Puritan inscribed the couplet:

"The Eastern nations sink, their glory ends,
And empire rises where the sun descends."

Beyond America the course of empire no longer can follow the setting sun: the wave of civilization breaking on the Pacific coast has encircled the globe. There is food for reflection in the thought that, in the march of progress, the slow race movement which for centuries has been flowing westward must stop in a country which, in extent of domain and natural adaptation, has an advantage over all others. For some wise reason America seems to have been reserved as an heir to all that the past has done for humanity. Darwin says, "the wonderful progress of the United States, as well as the

character of the people, are the results of natural selection." The commingling of the most active and energetic portions of the different European nations is forming in America a new type, one that is becoming distinctively American. Spencer says that "the eventual mixing of the allied varieties of the Aryan race, forming the population (of the United States) will produce a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed, and a type of man more capable of undergoing the modifications needful for complete social life." Already has the world begun to look to this country for the most advanced state of progress, and it is here, that in the arts and sciences, and in all that ministers to man's physical comfort, it is to be found; while the possibilities of the near future seem more wonderful than all that the past has accomplished. But students of past and present economic conditions generally agree in the opinion that the present social conditions of the United States represent a great focal point in history, and so, if the nation is to go on and realize its possibilities, that step should be taken for which the ages have made preparation. If this step is not taken, disease and decay must follow from the misuse of the very conditions which have brought the nation to the door of a brighter future. The old system of competition under which men have so long lived the fierce brutal life of animals is at last wearing itself out and from the old order a new regime is evolving. Fifty years have caused a great nation to assume a degree of interdependence and of organic unity little short of the marvelous, and which, if foreseen by a previous age, would have been looked upon as miraculous. The progress in every direction, and particularly in intercommunication, has brought or is bringing the different sections of the country into much the same relationship that a half century ago, in the isolated communities, existed between the members of the various trades and occupations. And along with the practical educational force of this immensely increased intercommunication works another potent factor. This factor is the growth of firms and corporations into trusts and syndicates, monopolizing or controlling the fields in which they work; in many cases becoming autocrats over thousands of consumers, driving to the wall the weaker and less fortunately

situated, forcing, as is the case in many factory towns, almost the entire village population to work under conditions meaning starvation or slavery. Here we find the warning that the people must either recognize their unity and by the nationalization of industries begin to work for the common good, or must yield their rights to a small plutocracy,—by nature a selfish soulless power in opposition to the forces which work behind evolution for a more perfect development of national life—an opposition which will go on, as it has gone on in the past, when conditions allowed, until the sudden bursting forth of the oppressed in a storm of pent-up wrath scatters the petals of the grand flower of our civilization and clears the way for a new effort. History repeats itself. It is in this critical time that the Nationalist Club invites thinking men and women to join with the new movement in an endeavor to lighten the labor of the transition period. That point safely passed, a higher national development becomes possible, a development which must lead to a true brotherhood among men, the dream of the great poets and philosophers, and the teaching of the prophets and seers who have tried to lighten the burden of humanity.

JOHN RANSOM BRIDGE.

In the June, or July, number a powerful novel specially prepared for the NATIONALIST will probably begin.

THE NATIONALIST CLUB OF BOSTON.

(A CHAPTER OF HISTORY.)

THE history of the formation of the Nationalist Club of Boston, if it had no other striking feature, would be remarkable for the spontaneity with which the organization sprang into existence. While the educational forces which have been so long working silently in the direction of Nationalism caused many of the original members to consider the question of national co-operation long before the publication of *Looking Backward*, yet it cannot be denied that the appearance of that great book gave the necessary determining impulse. Like the introduction of the electric current into some chemical combination this book precipitated the floating ideas, held in the saturated solution of the minds of men, into a concrete and visible reality. That the ideas advanced in this book were eminently feasible was the natural conclusion of the unbiassed reader.

"How shall they be carried out?" was the next thought which naturally arose. The practical mind of the average New Englander immediately gave the answer: "By organized effort." Thereupon the need of an organization was felt by those whose minds had traveled thus far in this direction. To whom should this need be communicated sooner than to the author whose pen of fire had drawn pictures of inextinguishable flame on the mind-canvas of his continually increasing audience? These hitherto unknown readers quickly, in many cases, turned to the author with words of praise and encouragement. The writer of this history wrote him among the earliest and it came as Mr. Bellamy expressed it at a time when it appeared like a ray of sunshine. In a letter dated June 28 after several letters had passed between us the present writer said:

"I have been thinking that it would be a good idea to organize an association to spread the ideas contained in your book. What do you think of it?"

This, Mr. Bellamy says, was the first letter received by him suggesting the formation of a club. In a letter from him dated July 4, 1888, he said:

"You suggest forming an association to support and propagate the Nationalist ideas of the book as offering the best solution of the problems of the day. • Go ahead by all means and do it if you can find anybody to associate with. No doubt eventually the formation of such Nationalist Clubs or associations among our sympathizers all over the country will be a proper measure and it is fitting that Boston should lead off in this movement. I have just received a letter from Mr. Sylvester Baxter in which he expresses enthusiastic agreement with *Looking Backward*, and suggests like yourself that it would be a good thing if those of one mind on this subject could work together."

This letter from Mr. Baxter by the bye bore date July 3, and the above extract from Mr. Bellamy's letter is further noticeable for the fact that it shows he already had fixed on the name the Club now bears. Mr. Baxter and the writer, thus brought together, immediately set to work among their acquaintances and friends and during this time Mr. Bellamy also wrote the following significant words in a letter dated July 9, 1888.

"I heartily wish you and Mr. Baxter success in organizing in Boston the first Nationalist Club or association. The town where the Boston tea-party was celebrated and the anti-slavery society formed should also be the birthplace of the Nationalist party. I thoroughly approve what you say as to directing your efforts more particularly to the conversion of the cultured and conservative class. That was precisely the special end for which *Looking Backward* was written."

Again in a letter bearing date of August 7, 1888, in which he expressed regret at not being able to stop in Boston while on his way back from Portland to Chicopee Falls he said:

"We might as you say have taken advantage of the occasion to found the Nationalist Club."

The Club was well under way at that time, but Mr. Baxter shortly after this went to Germany and was gone about two months and the writer was also obliged to devote his time to other matters owing to a press of business and then was forced to take a long vacation. So the formation of the club which would have been consummated had Mr. Bellamy been able to stop over in Boston,

was thus put off; but what then seemed a misfortune proved to be a benefit.

It was here that the spontaneous character of this movement demonstrated itself. Other forces were at work to broaden the scope of the movement. Captain Bowers, the present president and Gen. A. F. Devereux who had read the book and were very enthusiastic, during this time were considering the advisability of forming some association in the same line. With military decision they quickly began work. Mr. Bellamy says of their movement:

"The first letter I received from Captain Bowers also signed by General Devereux bore date of September 7, 1888. They at once got to work on a club and were the first organization actually in the field."

This was called the "Boston Bellamy Club" and was organized at 61 State street, Its object set forth in the original document to which the members affixed their signatures and now preserved with jealous care in the archives of this club, is couched in the following militant language:

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 13, 1888.

BELIEVING that there is no higher, grander or more patriotic cause for men to enlist in, than one for the elevation of their fellow man, and believing that Edward Bellamy in his great work, *Looking Backward*, has pointed out the way by which the elevation of man can be attained—we, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together in a society to be called "The Boston Bellamy Club," and pledge ourselves to do all we can to disseminate the views as set forth in *Looking Backward*, and in every other way to do all we can to help the cause.

This document is signed, in the order given, by Chas. E. Bowers, A. F. Devereux, Edward S. Huntington, Frank E. Peck, Alban Andren, F. W. Abercrombie, Ralph Cracknell, Harry W. Robinson, Frederick White, Henry S. Drake, M. D., Richard I. M. McGinnis, Jno. W. Trafton, J. A. Ferris, James A. Shedd, Fred W. Coy, John E. Belcher, H. J. Doughty, Geo. W. Dempsey, Charles M. Saulson, Sylvester Baxter, O. F. Mitchell, John B. Regan, Rufus R. Noyes M. D., R. Stanley Harrison, Alzire A. Chevallier, Henry W. Austin and Cyrus F. Willard. The names are given exactly as they stand on the original document. These names were obtained from time to time as the members read and agreed with the principles of the book and it was some time before the entire number were secured.

Early in October, 1888, the persons in the two movements came

together and coalesced. Four of these names Miss Chevallier and Messrs. Baxter, Austin, and Willard signed this document when visiting Capt. Bowers' office, directed to him by Mr. Bellamy. It was agreed by all that an organization of a broader scope was needed and some time was consumed in getting acquainted with each other and talking over the best method of starting the organization. So, not until December 1, 1888 was the first regular meeting called and the persons desirous of forming a permanent organization to further the Nationalization of industry were invited by Captain Charles E. Bowers to be present at his office 61 State street in the old building near the corner of Kilby street now torn down to make room for the new Merchants' Exchange Building. This meeting was held at two o'clock Saturday afternoon. Twentyfive gentle men were present. Captain Charles E. Bowers the president of the Bellamy Club was elected chairman and Ralph Cracknell was chosen secretary. Mr. Bowers briefly stated how this movement started and invited suggestions from those present. Remarks were made by several, after which a committee of five was appointed for the purpose of selecting a definite name and presenting a plan for permanent organization. This committee consisted of the following named in the order as appointed: Cyrus Field Willard, Gen. A. F. Devereux, Sylvester Baxter, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss and by vote the chairman, Charles E. Bowers was added. It was voted as the sense of the meeting that the name "Nationalist Club" be suggested to the committee as a suitable name. Speeches were made by several and great enthusiasm pervaded the meeting which adjourned until Saturday December 8. At this second meeting the constitution as it stands today with the exception of the statement of objects and declaration of principles was reported and adopted. A nominating committee of five to bring in a list of officers was appointed and the meeting adjourned until Saturday December 15, at the same place. At this third meeting Edward Bellamy was present and received a very enthusiastic reception. This was the first time Mr. Bellamy met all the different forces at work on this movement. The following officers as reported by Mr. Austin, chairman of the nominating committee, were elected by acclamation: President, Charles E. Bow-

ers, 1st Vice-President Edward Bellamy, 2nd Vice-President Gen. A. F. Devereux, Secretary Cyrus Field Willard, Assistant Secretary Ralph Cracknell, Treasurer Sylvester Baxter, and Financial Secretary Charles M. Saulson. They were elected to serve until May 1889. The object clause of the Club's constitution having been severely criticized by some, a committee of seven on motion of Mr. Austin was appointed to revise that article of the constitution. Steps were also taken to interest women in the movement. The first regular meeting of the Club as now organized was held January 9, 1889, at Room 200 Tremont House at which about fifty members were present. The committee on revision of the constitution reported a Declaration of Principles and the objects as they are today.

From this time forth the Club has gone on prospering and finds each day new work for its many hands. From it has gone forth an influence which has moulded the other clubs now springing up like the army of Cadmus — Cadmus who sowed the dragon's teeth and who also taught Greece her letters as we, under the impulse of Edward Bellamy, are giving to the United States a new and richer literature. Nearly all the clubs formed since this was organized have used our Declaration of Principles, which means a uniform movement. Looking backward to January 21, 1888, when *Looking Backward* was first issued, the most skeptical person may infer from the history of the formation of this club with its record of what has been accomplished in so short a time what may be accomplished before this century is ended.

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD.

STUART MERRILL, who is an author in two languages—French and English— will have an article and a poem in the June NATIONALIST. Later, he will write from Paris on the French Exposition from a Nationalistic standpoint.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

This is the morning twilight of a great day.

We present to our readers in this number some very distinguished names, but yet only a few rays of the rich light we are receiving constantly from many diverse minds and warm hearts.

We propose to make the American Revolution of 1950 a peaceful one. This is too long a war to be fought with the sword: we have a mightier weapon. Wendell Phillips said: "You can shoot down a battalion of soldiers: you cannot shoot an idea."

Edward Bellamy says in a late letter: "We must do all we can to shut the mouths of those who talk of needing centuries to make over society. No sort of talk, not even open opposition, is so foolish or so demoralizing as this. Fifty years will see our entire programme accomplished."

The *Press*, an able Republican journal of New York, in its issue of April 14, had four columns about the Nationalist Club of Boston, consisting of interviews with prominent members such as Edward Everett Hale, Col. Higginson, Rabbi Schindler, Sylvester Baxter, Cyrus Field Willard, Capt. Chas. E. Bowers (President of the Club) Gen. Devereux, (of Gettysburg fame) Arthur Hildreth, Harry W. Robinson and Henry Willard Austin.

The same New York paper had at the same time a half column editorial attempting to answer the arguments of the above-named men. Curiously enough, on the *Press* editorial page that day were some excellent editorials asserting the right of New Yorkers to manage — not be managed by—certain cuttlefish corporations; and also crying for the prevention of child-labor so alarmingly on the increase. The moral of this odd newspaper fact is obvious.

Gen. Francis A. Walker admitted at the meeting of the Round Table Club last January that "men's ideas were nowadays changing so fast that the most conservative man could not be sure what his opinions on social questions would be ten years hence." No doubt this is true, yet Prof. R. T. Ely who comes out flatfooted in favor of Nationalizing railroads, telegraphs and express companies wants to stop there. Bellamy says he might as well expect to stop a loaded toboggan half-way down a steep hill.

Wm. W. Gamble writing to the *Christian Union* from McCleod Co., Minn., on the Agricultural Problem makes these very timely suggestions: "Organized capital, in its present aggressive attitude, has in it the elements of a criminal and dangerous class; the co-operation of capital is the socialism of wealth; the co-operation of industry the socialism of labor and the resistance and evasion of law by wealthy corporations is as much *anarchy* as the crimes committed by the dangerous class that bears its name."

Looking Backward is being translated by Rabbi Solomon Schindler into German. He has three-fourths of it done. Bismarck will probably read it with immense disgust. A French translation is soon to be issued in France and the translator thinks it will make quite a stir in our sister republic. In this we heartily coincide. France, perhaps, in some respects, is riper for this redemption than we are, though her surroundings are not so favorable since the enemies of popular government around her can bring so much open and secret pressure to bear.

The Boston *Advertiser*, commenting on the article in the New York *Press*, expresses the correct opinion that the Nationalist Club is making more stir in Boston than any other reform movement of the last twenty years. But Boston cannot claim all the credit. Our Department, News of the Movement, proves that other great cities are waking up. The movement is not local and every step taken makes the movement faster. But we must be careful; we must advocate "no sudden or ill-considered changes." The only danger in a cause like this is undue haste.

We are doing practical work. The order introduced by Mr. Mellen of Worcester permitting Massachusetts towns to supply their citizens with light as with water would have been smothered in Committee by the well-paid lawyers of the Gas and Electric Light Corporations, had not Nationalists, the unpaid attorneys of the people, come forward this past April with fact on fact and idea on idea in speech after speech. What was the result? A Legislative Committee was appointed to visit Philadelphia, Richmond and Wheeling, towns that supply their own light, and after careful examination to report thereon. A close perusal of Mr. Hildreth's witty analysis of the opposition argument, which closes this May number, will repay any reader, and will show somewhat of the practical work to be done by Nationalists through the country.

Col. Donn Piatt in the February number of *Belford's Magazine* states the case of the patient—the people—with even more than his usual lucid strength of language. "We have called attention to the fact that humanity suffers more from an inequality of property than from an inequality of political rights. These last are rapidly getting to be recognized and secured in constitutions throughout the civilized world. Kings and emperors have come to be mere figure-heads above constitutions, and the political dignity of the poor man is generally acknowledged. But the poor man remains, and the castle yet rears its lofty front above the hovels of the suffering laborers. Humanity is yet divided between the many who produce all and enjoy nothing, and the few who produce nothing and enjoy all. This is the inequality of property and governments yet hold the sufferers to their hard condition. It is called "law and order," as sacred in the eyes of the Church as it is potent in courts of justice."

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

BOSTON. The movement in this city is flourishing. Our office is frequently over-crowded with enquirers and seekers of our literature.

Applications for membership are constantly received; but, as we aim chiefly, in this parent organization, to secure those who can give work or money or influence to the cause, we are slow and careful in our selection from the names presented.

The feeling among our members is very harmonious and enthusiastic.

Every day enquiries come from prominent men who will, in due course of time, join our movement, which in its *personnel* is confined to no political party or creed or class.

The sinews of war are being supplied by our dues but, though we have received some donations besides, we need more, to spread our doctrines in the South and West.

The news from our Branches continues to be encouraging. In other cities where clubs are formed the membership shows a healthy increase and new clubs are starting up, here and there, as if by magic.

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD, Sec'y.

NEW YORK. The first meeting of the New York Nationalist Club was held at the Everett House, Union Square, Sunday, April 7, in response to a call issued by J. Edward Hall and Stuart Merrill, organizers *pro tem*. Among those present were Thaddeus B. Wakeman, of the Nineteenth Century Club, Prof. Daniel De Leon, of Columbia College, Prof. Thomas Davidson, the well-known Liberal, William C. Temple, Jonathan Sturges, the author, Lucien Saniel, one of the original founders of the Paris *Temps*, etc., etc. The meeting was called to order by Stuart Merrill, and Jonathan Sturges was elected chairman. The principles and policy of the club were informally discussed, and a most earnest spirit was manifested throughout the proceedings. A vote of thanks was tendered to J. Edward Hall, now lying on a bed of sickness, for his untiring efforts in behalf of Nationalism.

It was decided to defer the election of permanent officers till the club had increased in membership. William C. Temple was elected secretary *pro tem.*, with Prof. Daniel De Leon and Charles Sotheran as assistants. Letters of sympathy with the general principles of Nationalism have been received from Rev. Heber Newton, Rev. James Huntington and E. K. Thurber.

The club now comprises about one hundred members, the most prominent of whom, besides those mentioned above, is John W. Lovell, the publisher.

W. C. TEMPLE, Sec'y *pro tem*.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Last July Mr. Ferdinand Schmidt, a rising member of our District Bar, called my attention to Edward Bellamy's little book *Looking Backward*, with a request that I should read it. I did so, and on my return from a vacation in August I ordered twenty-five copies of the book and began loaning them among such friends as

I thought would be interested, with a request to read and return with their impressions of the book.* Afterwards, Mr. Ferdinand Schmidt followed my example, and I believe Mr. Max Georgii, a young gentleman of bright mind and large sympathies, also aided in the early distribution of the book. In the course of two or three months these efforts began to show such fruits that, about January 1st, a call for a meeting of the readers was issued, to which some thirty or more responded and met in the parlors of Dr. T. A. Bland. Fortunately we had also present Prof. T. H. Garside who made a stirring speech informing us of his presence at the formation of the Boston Club. At this meeting a dozen names were obtained as a start for the club.

Further meetings were held, organization was discussed, and with the aid of the constitution of the Boston Club, we organized by adopting a declaration and constitution on January 31st—following substantially the tenor of those of the Boston Club. Then we elected this board of officers: Rev. Alexander Kent, President, Dr. M. G. Kimball, Vice-President, M. A. Clancy, Secretary, Ferdinand Schmidt, Treasurer.

Meetings of the club have of late been held weekly, and the general subject of interest has been quite fully discussed.

Our club numbers now about sixty members, of both sexes, among whom are doctors, lawyers and divines, as well as a good sprinkling of literary and artistic people. Our President, Rev. Mr. Kent, is pastor of the Church of Our Father, the Universalist Church here, and is one of the most progressive and liberal minds in the Christian ministry. It would be invidious to single out other members for special mention.

As soon as Congress reassembles we shall take steps to have measures in the direction of Nationalism introduced. M. A. CLANCY, Sec'y.

HARTFORD, CONN. The first meeting of *Looking Backward* readers, was held in the Unity Church parlors, Tuesday evening, February 12, 1889, on call of a circular issued by H. F. L. Orcutt, and committees were appointed to draft constitution, engage room for meetings, etc. A second meeting was held on Tuesday evening, March 5, 1889, when the Constitution was adopted, the Nationalist Club was organized with twenty-two members and the following officers elected: H. L. F. Orcutt, President, James G. Bacon, 1st Vice-President, Miss May F. Reardon, 2nd Vice-President, W. L. Cheney, Secretary, Jas. W. Green, Financial Secretary, C. H. Dresser, Treasurer.

It was decided to hold regular meetings the second and fourth Fridays of each month and the first regular meeting was held Friday evening, March 22, 1889, in Unity Church parlors, at which twelve new members joined. The following are the members most prominent in professions or reform movements: Mrs. Emily P. Collins, Miss Francis Ellen Burr, Mrs. Ella Burr McManus, Prof. Henry C. Mayer, James G. Bacon, Dr. L. A. Davison.

Mrs. Emily P. Collins and Miss Frances E. Burr, about five years ago, organized the Equal Rights Club of Hartford, which is at present

* A general and very useful method. (ED.)

the only working organization of its kind in Connecticut, and of which Mrs. Collins is now the President. Mrs. Collins is also editor of the "Women's Department" in the (Hartford) *Weekly Examiner*, and is especially noted among Equal Rights people, as the organizer of the first woman suffrage society in the United States. This was in the year 1848, in the town of Bristol, Ontario County, N. Y.

Miss Frances Ellen Burr is sister to Alfred E. Burr, for fifty years owner and publisher of the *Hartford Times*. Miss Burr is regularly connected with the *Times*. Mrs. Ellen Burr McManus is a daughter of Alfred E. Burr, and edits the Social Notes in the *Times*. Both Miss Burr and Mrs. McManus are very enthusiastic over *Looking Backward*, so that the *Times* may reasonably be expected to be friendly to the Nationalist Clubs.

Prof. Henry C. Mayer, is teacher of languages in the Hartford schools and in the Hartford Young Men's Christian Association. Dr. Luther A. Davison is a well-known, popular and successful young physician of Hartford, and is the first signer of our Club. James G. Bacon is editor of the *New Britain (Conn.) Record*.

Seeing that Hartford is one of the richest of American cities, and aristocratic and conservative in proportion, it is remarkable that it should be the home of two such progressive and liberal societies as the Nationalist Club and the Equal rights Club. The population of Hartford is about 45000, and judging from the number of *Looking Backwards* that have been sold in the city, the people who have read the book can easily be numbered in thousands, and large numbers can be surely reckoned on who are earnest sympathizers with the ideas but who are taking no active part in the movement yet.

W. L. CHENEY. Sec'y.

CHICAGO, ILL. This Club is doing finely, having about fifty members. Jesse Cox, the president, delivered an address on "Nationalism" at the Madison Street Theatre to an audience of 1200 who were very attentive and enthusiastic. It was published more or less extensively from a column to a column and a half in the newspapers and reported in full in the *Leader* which gives especial attention to the lectures of the Economic Conference. The history of the Chicago Club is thus given by the President:

"On April 10th, 1888, twenty men and women interested in the Nationalization of industry, met in Chicago and organized the Collectivist League, Mr. Laurence Grönlund of New York being present at the time of the organization. A declaration of principles was adopted in which it was stated that the tendency of economic development is to place the means of production within the collective control of society; and that it was the purpose of the club to advocate measures towards that end. Pamphlets advocating the Nationalization of industry were issued by the club and largely circulated, and the membership increased to about fifty. Several public lectures were also given under the auspices of the club.

In February, 1889, it was determined to change the name, Collectiv-

ist League, to the Nationalist Club of Illinois and this was done by a vote of the club. Subsequently the club obtained a charter from the State of Illinois, and adopted a declaration of principles substantially the same as that of the Nationalist Club of Boston. It also adopted a constitution and by-laws similar to those of the Boston club.

The organization of the Boston Club and its evident determination to carry on active propaganda has inspired the Chicago Club with a new interest. The wide circulation of Bellamy's *Looking Backward* has greatly increased the interest of the upper and middle classes of Chicago in the Nationalization of industry, and made it possible to largely increase the membership of the Chicago Club. Active efforts are now being made to do this and to establish branches, and it is expected that large accessions to the club will result from a series of public meetings which the club has in contemplation.

The membership of the club is composed of lawyers, bank officers, merchants and other persons of the middle classes. JESSE COX.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H. Fifteen persons met here April 11, and formed themselves into a temporary organization as a club. John Albee of New Castle was chosen President, R. E. Rich, Secretary, and Dr. Andrew B. Sherburne, Treasurer. At its next meeting the organization will be made permanent. Others will soon join. Its membership includes four teachers, a merchant, three master iron workers, an artist, several ladies, and the public librarian. ROBERT E. RICH, Sec'y.

OAKLAND, CAL. A Nationalist Club has been started under very flattering promises of becoming a prosperous and influential body. At the first meeting twenty-six names were enrolled and there many more enquirers who are expected to fall into line shortly. Rooms have been secured to be kept open day and evening. The Declaration of Principles of the Boston Club was drawn on extensively in formulating our constitution. Mary Livermore will lecture here soon and others in regular order. Rev. Mr. Wendte, after his return from Boston, will take active part in our propaganda. I go to San Francisco tonight to interest some workers there. Fraternally, EUGENE HOUGH, Sec'y.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. B. F. Underwood, editor of the *American Homeopathist* is about to start a club in this city and there is a fine prospect for a large club as several others have written for help in the way of documents, etc., since Mr. Underwood.

ZANESVILLE, O. *Looking Backward* is being well circulated by C. A. Potwin and a club will be formed very soon.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. A. S. Edwards, the editor of *Reason*, is very enthusiastic and offers to circulate 2000 copies of our Declaration of Principles as a supplement to that magazine. He is very sanguine of forming a club having enlisted other prominent people in the movement—for instance, Mrs. Kate Buffington Davis.

CINCINNATI, O. Miss Annie M. L. Marsh who read *Looking Backward* at the suggestion of Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace the mother of Gen. Lew Wallace, author of "Ben Hur," is very enthusiastic and is trying to start a club in that city with first class prospects.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN. A prominent member of the Divinity school writes that a club is in process of formation.

ALBANY, N. Y. Ernest A. Norris is at work starting a club. He has written a paper for the June NATIONALIST.

LYNN, MASS. W. P. Conway is going to start a club and some of those who will join are attending the meetings of the Boston Club. A meeting will soon be arranged in Lynn to be addressed by members of the Boston Nationalist Club.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. Richard Barnes, 547 Mission street, writes very enthusiastically offering his purse and pen.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. Geo. M. Stearns is soon to start a club here.

ST. LOUIS, MO. A movement is on foot here.

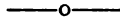
CHETOPA, KAN. J. W. Breidenthal writes that he will organize shortly with a nucleus of at least twentyfive members.

PHILADELPHIA. There is an intellectual stir spreading in this city which will doubtless result in a very powerful club. Several leading lawyers and prominent merchants have long held these ideas.

BALTIMORE, MD. This is one of the cities where there is not much life as yet in this movement, but one or two prominent doctors have grasped the ideas and will probably take steps in the near future to form a club.

ALTON, ILL. A club will doubtless be formed here before long.

MARSHALL, TEXAS. A club is to be started here in the near future.



Walter Vrooman will lecture in any place within easy reach of Boston upon the following subjects: "The Object of the Labor Movement" "The Future Society" "Competition" "Shorter Hours" and "Poverty." His address is 18 Felton Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., and by some who have heard him he is said to be very well worth hearing more than once.

MONOPOLIES OF MUNICIPAL SERVICE.

A Dissection by Arthur Hildreth, at the April meeting of the Nationalist Club, of the arguments made by Hon. W. E. Russell against the Mellen order.

THE infant Hercules was compelled to strangle in his fists the great snakes that Juno sent against him. No sooner was this Club born than it was called upon to contend with snakes still greater — the gas companies — enormous, slippery reptiles with tails of limitless length. We may fail in our first attempt to get a grip, but sooner or later we will stretch these monsters on their backs.

After Mr. Mellen of Worcester with Messrs. Higginson, Hale, Baxter, Willard, Ayers, Bowers, Faxon, and Austin of the Nationalist Club had argued before the Legislative Committee on Manufactures in support of the order that towns should be permitted to supply their citizens with Gas or Electric lighting, the Hon. W. E. Russell, ex-mayor of Cambridge, opened the case for the remonstrants. He had been told that the Nationalists were sorry to see him on the side of the great corporations; to which he answered that he was quite as much "the friend of the people" as the Nationalists are. His argument against municipal gas and electric lighting is perhaps the best that can be made. Let us examine it.

"The question" says Mr. Russell, "is not limited to gas, and cannot be so limited, and as counsel of one of these corporations I advocate the right of saving the life of my client." Here we have it exactly. This friend of the people is going to argue this question as a hired henchman of the people's enemy. Mr. Russell thinks there are two differences between gas and water. "First" he says "water-works have relation to the health of the public; gas and electricity do not." But as good light is good for the eyes, both gas and electricity seem to relate to health. Yet supposing they had nothing to do with health — what of that? What says the charter of the city of Boston? "In the City Charter", says Mayor Armstrong, "all measures tending to the improvement, not merely of the finances and the police, but of the health, security, cleanliness, comfort and ornament of the city are designated as proper objects of the attention of municipal governments." Not matters of health alone, Mr. Russell, but matters of public comfort, nay, of ornament, are for cities to attend to.

But Mr. Russell thinks there is a second difference between water and gas. "Power is given to towns to control waterworks, because of lack of private capital to go into the business, but towns should not control gas companies because private capital is ready to engage in that business." When an industry is almost universally taken possession of by government, it is easy to say that private capital cannot be found to go into it; but before government took possession, water works were conducted by private companies just as gas works are now: witness the Boston Aqueduct Company.

But now Mr. Russell lifts up both arms and comes down with a sledgehammer stroke. "The city has no right to do any thing except what benefits the whole. Now the whole community does not use gas or electricity, and therefore government has no right to meddle." Is it so? Can a man say because he has no children that he will not pay a school tax? Can a man say because he never goes into the public garden that he will not help support it? Can a man say because he never expects to travel that he will not help support the roads? Although no one pays for water except those who use it, yet this very same contemptible argument was used over and over again in our fathers' time, to prove that Boston should not introduce public water, because certain parties had wells and did not want anything better. Now, the use of water is universal. We laugh at the short sighted policy of the opposition who thought that wells were well enough for Boston. And so with gas and electricity. Let the city take them, produce them cheaper, bring them into universal use for heat and cooking, and our children will laugh at the narrow minded policy of Messrs. Russell & Co., friends of the people, who wish to confine folks to coal stoves, with their waste, their filth, and their trouble.

But says Mr. Russell, "Why interfere where corporations are performing a quasi-public service?" It is a quasi public service; very quasi. That is the reason we wish to interfere. When companies furnish so few horse-cars that we are packed like sardines, the public service is quasi. When companies are unable to manufacture gas as cheap as towns, the public service is quasi. When gas companies charge Massachusetts one million and a half dollars over and above cost for gas, the public service is exceedingly quasi, and Mr. Russell, the friend of the people, wishes them to go on being taxed forever, because this public service is quasi.

But now Mr. Russell assumes a tenderer tone. He is the friend of the people, and he does not wish them to take too much risk. He says the companies spend much money in experiments. The danger of accidents is great. The towns might use a patent without right and then they would be sued for it. No, the Legislature knows best what towns want, and how much the little dears can afford. The towns are just like so many little children, and their good father, the Legislature, should not give them leave to try any experiments themselves,

lest they should find that they could attend to their own business better and cheaper than others could for them; lest they should find that the united wealth of the town was quite as able to meet the expenses as the wealth of half a dozen of its citizens; lest they should find out that the public spirit of the town would improve the business far beyond what corporations dream of.

In 1845 this self-same argument was used by the minority to prevent the introduction of water. They said the plan would fail, and they would have to pay; that no one would take the water even if introduced, and they would have to pay. Better let a company bring in a little stream from Spot Pond at their risk. Boston knows what it is about! O Legislature, protect us!

At this point Mr. Russell suddenly turns round, and, with might and main, runs in the other direction. "We don't want a paternal government" he cries. By this he means, I apprehend, a tyrannical government, a government that interferes with personal freedom. Let us look into this. The business of carrying letters was formerly a private business. The government now carries all letters, and it is no longer a private business. Now Mr. Russell wishes you to believe that because the government carries your letters all over the United States, to the smallest village worthy of a post office, and does it for two cents, and is probably going to do it for one cent, and does it with astonishing promptness and exactness, that you are slaves and the government is tyrannizing over you; that because the government—that is, the people organized for work—by means of a stupendous piece of national machinery carries your letters and your books and your parcels and your money at cost, that you have, just to that extent, lost your liberty, and are little better than serfs. Mr. Russell expects you to believe that because government has taken possession of roads and bridges, and you are no longer liable, every few miles, to meet a toll-man rushing out at you, like a spider out of his den, that you are slaves, and the government is tyrannizing over you; that because government controls commons, parks and public gardens, those breathing holes of great cities, and prevents private corporations from controlling them, and covering the gardens with buildings as soon as it pays to do so, that you have, just to that extent, lost your liberties. Mr. Russell wants you to think, because government controls the water-works, giving you at cost an unfailling supply of water, and preventing private parties from monopolizing them and taxing you forever for their own profit, that you are a set of down-trodden Helots; and finally, he thinks you believe, that if the government takes the gas, and saves you a million and a half of dollars every year, now going into the bags of a few individuals, that you are a set of children cringing under the rod of a "paternal" government.

These positions are so monstrous that we are led to ask how it comes about that a man can arrive at such conclusions. And here I think we have it. The liberty that Mr. Russell cares about is not the liberty of the people: no such thing. What he is concerned about is the liberty of toll gatherers to keep possession of the bridges, and support themselves by taxing the public. The liberty that Mr. Russell cares about is not the liberty of the people; but the liberty of a few favored citizens who, he says in effect, ought to be allowed to get hold of the aqueducts and make a living out of the public. But the people have the aqueducts; so Mr. Russell gives up the point as to water; yet he holds on to gas; and, standing forth as the champion of freedom, he tells us that it is a shameful stretch of tyranny on the part of the government, to offer to prevent a few hundred citizens holding possession of the gas-pipes forever, transferring every year one million and a half of Massachusetts dollars into their bottomless pockets; and in the name of liberty he protests against it!

O Liberty! this not the first time that thy sacred name has been used to cover, as with a veil, gross despotism.

So Mr. Russell does not like "paternal" government. This man who wishes the Legislature to restrain towns who want their own gas, hates "paternal" government. This man who wants the Legislature to tell the towns, little dears, that they are not competent to take any risks, hates "paternal" government. This friend of the people who wishes, by law, to stop towns in their spontaneous advance in civilization, because they would spend all their money in folly, hates a "paternal" government.

"To transfer gas and electricity to the government," says Mr. Russell, "would certainly be against the interest of private capital, and (sobering down his face solemnly) I cannot but believe it is against the interests of the community. It is against the interests of labor." Mr. Russell is still the friend of the people. "The companies are employing many men," he says. "The electric company is seeking to perfect its industry in order to get the trade from the gas company," he continues, "but take an industry out of the hands of companies and transfer it to the government, and you take it out of the hands of men who are interested in it, and put it into *dead hands*. Towns will not take the risks, (Danvers to be sure has just asked to do so); the men will have no employment. It absolutely stops the development of an industry. It is putting it into *dead hands*." With this ghastly figure Mr. Russell hopes to frighten us. The government, it seems, is a lifeless corpse. But let us look at Mr. Russell's "dead man."

In the matter of war, which governments have always considered their special business, we see a sign of arrested development. The arts of offense and defense are constantly and rap-

ldly improving. The war-ships were formerly of wood, but now of iron; they formerly went by sail, but now by steam. Modern science is exhausted in producing machinery of the utmost efficiency for the outfit of these vessels. Experiments with guns go on every day. As the guns grow more powerful, the armor of the ships grows stronger. A torpedo is invented that will disable the strongest ship; and a net work is then devised to protect the ship from the torpedo. An inventor has only to invent a new means of offense or defense to be instantly patronized by the government.

Streets are controlled by Mr. Russell's "*dead man*;" but experiments have been constantly tried to find the best pavement. If government was the corpse we are told it is, we should still be walking on cobble stones.

The Post Office is controlled by this "*dead man*;" but has constantly gone on increasing in efficiency and diminishing in cost. Books, parcels, money orders and postal cards have been added to letters and papers. The Post Office is a lively thing; yet Mr. Russell expects you to believe that an industry in the hands of the government "absolutely stops in development," that inventions cease, and workmen are turned off.

The water works are controlled by this "*dead man*;" yet the perusal of any Report of the Water Board shows the intensest activity in improvement. Let us take a glance at the water works before they went into the hands of the "*dead man*."

Boston was drinking hard water from wells, and rain water tasting of soot from cisterns, and it also had the advantage of an aqueduct belonging to a company of live men—the Boston Aqueduct Company. They brought water from Jamaica Pond. Their pipes were rotting logs. Half the water of the pond escaped by leakage. The water rose no higher than the cellars. It came in a thin stream, and was liable to stop altogether. Such is the account of this live man's aqueduct in the city Reports.

After a desperate fight between the men of foresight and large hearts, and the men of narrow minds and small hearts, the city finally took possession of the water works. The "*dead man*" got hold of them. He employed the best engineers and constructed a large and stable aqueduct, able to supply the whole city with a never failing, powerful stream of water. Comparatively few persons were patrons of the Boston Aqueduct Company with its rotting logs and meager supply. And the first year that the dead man took it, the revenue was about \$1000; in the second year \$71,000; in the fifth year nearly \$200,000; in the tenth year nearly \$300,000. Before this, few persons had a bath; now everybody has a bath. Before this, people were dying of typhoid fever. "Typhoid fever," says the City Document, "has decreased ever since the wells were given up."

The "*dead man*" established drinking fountains with automatic fixtures; hydraulic motors, or church organs, etc., hydraulic elevators, (some 300 are noted in the Water Board Report); water posts for street sprinkling; hydrants for fire engines. In the days of the Boston Aqueduct Company, the houses burned down for want of water.

The "*dead man's*" Water Board work like bees in a hive. Any defect in the vast system is spied out, reported, and instantly repaired. The ponds are cleansed from the fungus that gathers on the surface. The basins that hold the water are improved by deepening. Others are constructed to improve the river water by settling. Freshets are guarded against. Embankments are graded and sown with grass. A systematic, periodical examination of the water takes place to guard against the least trace of sewerage. The aqueducts are cleaned from a mass of vegetable substance that gathers in them. New machines were invented to clean them better, and were at once adopted. The grounds of the Reservoirs are beautified by the planting of trees, taking down old fences, grading and sodding. New engines are built; new pump houses. Pipe is boxed to prevent freezing. Meanwhile waste was suspected, and a house to house examination of pipes was instituted resulting in stopping many leaks. To measure water various meters have been tried, and as none yet work satisfactorily, inventors are called upon for others. Finally, as typhoid fever in Philadelphia was said to be caused by river water, the Boston Water Board and City Physician went to that city and thoroughly reported the matter; showing that the fever was plainly due to other causes and Boston has nothing to fear from the Sudbury river which forms part of its supply.

Such is the constant and unflinching care which the government takes of matters intrusted to its charge. So far from stopping invention and turning off workmen, it does precisely the reverse—encourages invention to the utmost, and furnishes work for workmen.

Now, Mr. Russell, there are many misdeeds, but the worst is murder; and of all murderers you are the worst; you have attempted to assassinate Uncle Sam in the minds of his nephews; Uncle Sam, that beneficent power to whom we owe the protection of our liberties and almost every other blessing in life. Though you may malign him, and call him a *dead man*, there are others who love him; though you may forget his benefits, there are others who well remember them.

We now come to Mr. Russell's final, and as he says, his greatest argument. "It is a dangerous precedent, this meddling with private business. Towns can, and do establish plants for their own purposes, but that is no reason that they should go into the business, and furnish

private houses with gas and electricity." He says in effect, "If gas and electricity pass into governmental hands we are lost. Steam heat, horse cars, telegraphs, telephones, steam cars, express business, steamboats, boots and shoes, cloth factories, hat factories, coal, corn, cook shops, peanuts, will all fall by a logical necessity into the same governmental hands.

So then there are some hopes even of Mr. Russell. He would be a Nationalist, were it ~~not~~ for the fundamental and intrinsic difference between gas and water, which he and the other corporation lawyers pointed out.

Is it not a curious thing, this crotchet which exists in so many minds, that one industry is not a business and so may be controlled by the government, while another industry is a business and therefore sacred to private companies? The post office, the bridges, the roads, the parks, the schools, the libraries, the aqueducts were all at one time, and some of them still are, controlled by private companies. Of course, when the government takes them, private companies gradually cease to have anything to do with them. When the government takes the gas, and presently asks for the telegraph, the same old reason will be brought up. Gas, they will say, is not a business and very properly belongs to the government, but the telegraph is a business, and the government must not meddle with it.

In the fight over the public aqueduct, the most narrow-minded and absurd arguments were brought up against it; but in that generation no one reached the height of folly to say that a town might bring in water for public fountains and fire engines, but had no right to bring it into private houses; that this should be done by corporations running their own line of pipes by the side of those belonging to the city. It was reserved for a hair-splitting lawyer, an ex-mayor of Cambridge, and a friend of the people, to tell the men of this generation that towns could rightfully introduce gas and electricity for the street lamps, but not lead it into private houses; that corporations should have their own gas pipes and wires running by the side of those belonging to the city, dig the street up twice, and double the expense of the plant for the people to pay for.

"Not," cries Mr. Russell, "that there is no danger of corporate tyranny; there is danger. But then restrain, not kill the child, (the Bay State Gas Company which has swallowed all the companies in and near Boston is a rather large child) "cure not destroy the patient" (the Bay State Gas Company has a large appetite for an invalid).

And what are Mr. Russell's remedies. First, competition; second, state control. The Bay State Gas Company was at first in competition with the old Boston Gas Company, and they fought hard; but the Bay State Company being richer soon bought out the Boston Company, and that was the end of the competition. Gas and electric companies are constantly uniting all over the country. Such is the value of competition.

By state control, Mr. Russell means that a board of Gas Commissioners should be set to watch the companies, keep them within bounds, and scold them in their reports. That is, the gas companies are so many wild beasts, enormous elephants, liable to run mad with selfishness, and likely to put their great feet down and crush the town-folks flat. So we will furnish some government keepers, to chain them up as far as they can, threaten them with a sharp iron, and feed them on the property of the people.

But when Mr. Russell admits that the Government Gas Commissioners, the fingers of those *dead hands* he talks about, can control the resisting gas companies, he yields to his opponents an irrevocable advantage; for still better could government control the gas works if the gas works were the property of the government.

Mr. Russell now comes to his peroration. "The Cambridge Electric Light Company had a capital of \$60,000. In two years they were deep in debt. They changed their plant three times. They increased their capital \$40,000. They doubled the whole, making \$200,000. All the time they performed satisfactory service, and have never paid a cent of dividend. If to be absolutely under state control is to be a monopoly, then only is my client a monopoly; if to be in bitter remorseless competition with the Gas Company is to be a monopoly, then only is my client a monopoly."

"Have the Electric Company and the Gas Company any intention of consolidating?" asked a Committee man. And Mr. Russell sobered himself and said in a resolute voice: "not the slightest intention." (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Russell's description of his company would lead us to believe that it was a band of philanthropists furnishing light at a loss, out of love for Cambridge; but if this is not so, such a serious loss of money might incline us to believe that the company would readily sell out. It is the fashion for companies to join, and we may assume as perfectly certain of these two companies, one will swallow the other, or both be swallowed by a third still greater monster.

Now in conclusion, what is the moral? Many persons are afraid to join the Nationalist Club because they think it is something new: that it proposes to reverse the policy on which this nation has acted from the foundation of the government. But the purpose of the Nationalist Club is the very contrary of this. It proposes to push and carry out that very policy in accordance with which this government has founded and in accordance with which it has acted down to the present day. The right of Eminent Domain, the right of the people to take private

property for public uses, is part of the fundamental law of the land, and this is Nationalism. When the founders of our nation put in the constitution a clause allowing government to establish post offices, and drive out private companies; this was Nationalism. When their children took commons, parks, roads, bridges, schools, libraries, and put them into the hands of the government; this was Nationalism. When our fathers gave the aqueducts to the cities; this was Nationalism. When we, their children, ask that gas and electricity be given to the towns; this is Nationalism.

The private corporations imagine that this country was made for no other purpose than for them to browse on, and that they will last forever; but they are greatly mistaken.

The policy of the government always has been gradually to absorb these private corporations, as soon as it becomes the interest of the people so to do; and let Mr. Russell and our opponents mark this: *whatever the people once acquire, never goes back to the corporations.*

The Nationalists believe in the United States government. They believe from their hearts that it is the best government on the face of the earth. They intend to improve it along those very lines marked out by the wisdom of the fathers, so that it will become at last, not merely the best government on the face of the earth, but the best government possible.

EARTHLY IMMORTALITY.

We of the mass are even less than names,
 Since, riding o'er the wreckful sea of time
 Like to the fragile nautilus, few fames
 May come to anchor in that sunny clime
 Where the heart's prophets with reward sublime
 Are crowned forevermore. Yes, e'en our graves
 Will be engulfed beneath the grassy waves
 Of century-buried myriads, yet unborn.
 What thought, then, like an amulet can be worn
 Bright 'gainst the darkness of such general doom?
 This—if no other; that each deed of grace
 In the small circle of our personal space
 To future harvests lends a surer bloom
 And hastens the millennium of the race.

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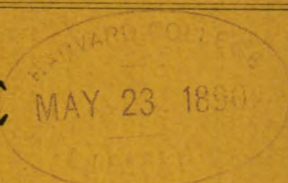
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THE NATIONALIST JUNE, 1889.

The Nationalization of Industry	<i>Lawrence Gronlund</i>
The Best Government	<i>Edward Everett Hale</i>
For the People (Poem)	<i>James Jeffrey Roach</i>
A Trust Advocate Seriously Considered	<i>Ernest A. Norris</i>
Ballade of the Outcasts (Poem)	<i>Stuart Merrill</i>
Is Marriage a Failure?	<i>Rabbi Solomon Schindler</i>
The Effect of Our Patent Laws	<i>Walter L. Cheney</i>
Competition and Co-operation	<i>Stuart Merrill</i>
Editorial Notes	
Reviews	
In Memoriam	

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THE NATIONALIST.

Vol. I.

JUNE.

No. 2.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY.

THE simplest definition of this new term, "Nationalism," is National control of all industrial forces. But the better to understand what Nationalists aim at we must contrast them with their natural opponents, the Individualists, and particularly such Individualists as really have warm hearts for their fellowmen. These latter want to abolish all the evils of the present system but to retain the system itself i. e. the system of competition and real property. Right here Nationalists take issue with them and charge them with blindness. These evils, they say, are the natural and inevitable fruits of the system, as much as sour apples are the fruit of the tree on which they grow. This is the first decisive fact that these upholders of the present system will not or cannot see. The second is, they talk with such fondness and concern of the present system, as if they believed that it has been the foundation of Society since the beginning of our civilization and that civilized Society could have no other foundation. The actual facts are precisely the reverse. Our present industrial system has lasted but a couple of hundred years; it even is in a constant flux and, in fact, has never been so unstable as now. It is precisely the characteristic of our present system, moved as it is by Competition, to be in a feverish activity, to go on enlarging factories, concentrating business, creating a monopoly now in one, now in another branch of trade and making the monopolies more and more embarrassing until finally we of these United States, first of all — because here the system enjoys the greatest liberty — behold the "Trust" and very likely before the new century dawns, every business will be concentrated in a Trust, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

But it will not stop here. The feverish activity of our competitive system, far from cooling down, becomes more and more intense; it may be compared to the spinning top which boys play with and which can be prevented from collapsing only by being forced to move quicker and quicker; so even the Trust must go on enlarging and concentrating;

that is, private monopolies will, by virtue of the very principle indwelling in them and which are of their very essence, become a national monopoly.

Do not exclaim here "Suppose you are right ; still, it is a change that does not concern us, but a distant future. We care only for improvements that will benefit us immediately or, at least, can be carried out in ten to twenty years."

Wait a little ! Suppose that the decisive change—the "blessed" change surely, if the picture in Bellamy's splendid book *Looking Backward* is anything near the reality—should not be realized before the year 2000 in which its scene is laid, do you reflect that this year is not further away from us in the future, than our Revolution is behind us? That we stand midway between 1775 and 2000? That thus by working for something to happen in the year 2000 it is our grand-children we are working for? Then consider by that time our probable population, 200,000,000 people ; consider the immense extent to which our wealth and resources, on the one hand, and our poverty and dependence on the other will then have grown, under our present system ; finally the growth of knowledge and discontent among the masses and who can doubt that they will long before that year imperatively demand a change?

Surely it is time to consider the final change of private monopolies into a national monopoly more particularly now when the Western Union Telegraph Co. insolently claims private ownership of our streets, and when private concerns take steps here in Massachusetts to monopolize forever the right to furnish light and heat.

But though this radical change will be just as natural as that from the flower into the fruit, the character of the two "monopolies" will be just as adverse to each other as heaven is to hell. You mix one volume of hydrogen gas with one volume of oxygen, and the mass will remain the same under any action of electricity ; there is no change if you go on adding hydrogen little by little to it, until you have two volumes of it ; if now you pass an electric spark through the mixture you instantly have water, a substance totally different from its previous mass. Likewise the industries of the country, concentrated into Trusts, co-extensive with our national limits, will, the moment they pass from private control under national control, and their operatives and managers become public functionaries, totally revolutionize our whole civilization.

First, they will be carried on exclusively for the public advantage, while now they are conducted, principally, for private gain. This will

work not merely a remarkable national change, but a much more remarkable moral one. Once more the great virtue, loyalty, will be vitalized and come to honor and men will again take pride in turning out good work. Think of it, that not alone transportation corporations will no longer utilize our highways, in the first place, to pocket profits, but that also our butchers and tailors will no longer furnish meat and make clothes in order principally that they may live and grow wealthy, but in order that good meat and clothes may be provided to customers at fair returns — which has, indeed, always been the real reason why we had butchers and bakers — and that these butchers and bakers will find their true reward in being equally well served in the innumerable other circles where they are consumers. This different standpoint from which to look at our work will alone effect a wonderful change.

Second, production will be indefinitely increased as soon as it is carried on to satisfy social wants. That will be, undoubtedly, the greatest effect, of the change, for our great need is increased production. And what prevents this now? This fact, and this alone, that production is carried on for the sake of *profit*, exclusively. When profits are endangered production is arbitrarily stopped. Profit-making, then, which at first was a spur to production, has of late become an impediment, hemming production in as with a wall of granite. Abolish it, and production will immediately expand immensely. All bare backs and feet will be covered and empty stomachs filled, and all idle hands and brains will be furnished with opportunities to earn the wherewithal to pay for what they get.

Third, leisure, that greatest boon of civilization and pre-requisite to all progress, will be the birth-right of every citizen. Leisure is altogether different from idleness; it presupposes appropriate work, not so protracted as to become toil, and which guarantees a decent living. It is the greatest indictment on our civilization, that the vast majority of men yet live, in order to work; that they must work, ten to twelve hours each and every day, merely in order to live.

Fourth, this miserable dependence on individuals which now crushes all manhood out of all our wage-earners and nearly all our salaried fellow-men will become a thing of the past. How shameful that a American citizen should depend on the mere whim and caprice of a master, in order to enjoy the privilege of working for a living. Have our wage-workers not good reason to call the wage-system "wage-slavery"? In what does it differ from chattel-slavery but in features to their prejudice? The slave owners bought the whole time of the slaves, but were com-

pelled to care for them in sickness and old age ; our employers buy 10 or 12 hours out of every 24 of the time of the wage-earners, but with no corresponding responsibility. For it must be noticed that though now labor is treated as a ware, which its owner can dispose of at his pleasure it differs radically from all other commodities in being inseparable from the person of the worker. In buying the labor, the employer thus buys virtually the body and soul of the worker for the time being.

This will be changed. The most unskilled wage-worker will be able to walk and demean himself as a man, in all his human dignity, the moment all dependence on individuals is abolished and he, as every body else, becomes dependent only on the impersonal sovereign : Society or the Collectivity. It will no longer be a matter of favor to have an opportunity for being useful. All will be public functionaries, with this difference from those we now know, that ability and skill and not recommendation or favor, will be the passports to higher position.

All land, raw materials, machineries — all capital so-called — will be turned over into the hands of the nation. That does not, necessarily, mean confiscation however. It is Henry George's idea to confiscate all rent, not paying a rent as compensation ; but it is not ours. We suppose that the change will be accomplished peaceably and by the ballot ; we hope this and this certainly is what we are working for. In that way the capital turned over could be paid for to its full value.

No one, on reflection, will contend that society has not a perfect right to do what is here outlined. Private property is not abolished. Far from it, everybody is enabled to earn and enjoy property. But the property may be only enjoyed : eaten, drunk, consumed. It may not in the future be "invested" in production, which, experience now has told us, is equivalent to being used to fleece our fellow-men therewith. Such a restriction on the use of property is like the restriction on a man, now buying a revolver, that he must not use it for shooting indiscriminately in the public streets. The principle point is, Society has a perfect right to say how in the future production shall be carried on and that profit-mongering shall for the future be unlawful.

This is, to every thoughtful mind, an evident outcome of our civilization. It will be, if not the final stage — of that we can know nothing — the next stage, and one for which our whole previous civilization has been a preparation. First slavery, then serfdom, then the wage-system, and at last social co-operation.

Laurence Grönlund.

THE BEST GOVERNMENT.

AN old saw, fortunately not very widely disseminated, said that "the best government is that which governs least." It has been ascribed to Thomas Jefferson and perhaps he said it. It was used as the motto of the "Madisonian" newspaper which was established to sustain the administration of John Tyler. John Tyler was one of the worst and most corrupt presidents whom we have ever had. Of such government as his, the motto may have been true. It is a sort of English translation of the French "laissez faire." Just as you can justify "laissez faire," if you explain away all the connections when it is not applicable, you can justify this old saw by a few occasions where it is applicable. But it is a very vicious old saw, and it is to be hoped that we shall not have it cited in the future as if it had any authority.

It is easy enough to see that it originated in the days of tyrants, and where tyrants were interposing in the affairs of their people. When a people governs itself it is absurd to say that the less it does of its own business the better that business is done. What the "laissez faire" writers meant was that people should be left to arrange their own affairs in their own way. That is just what happens in a republic, and when they are so left, it is a pity to interrupt them by the tyranny of any old proverb.

When a large manufacturer builds himself a new workshop or warehouse, he inquires how it can be lighted. It will very probably appear that he has a steam-engine in the basement of the building, which is used at certain hours of the day. It will prove that he can attach a dynamo to that engine and give himself electricity enough to light the building with, and that this is the cheapest way in which he can light it. When this does happen, and he does so, everyone says, "Jones is a bright fellow; he has introduced an electric plant, and it does not cost him as much as gas from the mains would cost him." Nobody says, "The less Jones does of lighting this building, the better for Jones." Jones is left to do his own work as he chooses.

The city of Boston owns a City Hall. At the bottom of that City Hall it has a steam-engine, which is put in for the purpose of carrying common councilmen and other people up and down in an elevator.

The city pays the man who runs the engine, pays for the coal, and keeps the engine in repair. Is there any good reason why the city should not do this? Will anybody say that the city government would be a better government if it contracted with somebody to run this elevator and to send the common councilmen up and down stairs? Or suppose it proved that the engine was powerful enough to run a dynamo which should light the building, is there any law, human or divine, which compels the city of Boston to buy gas of a monopolizing syndicate rather than make its own light by its own dynamo?

There are plenty of people connected with that syndicate who say the city of Boston ought to do no such thing, and the syndicate can hire counsel to say so. But, outside that circle, most people will say that the question is simply a question of cheapness. If the city's engine will make the light which the city needs cheaper than anybody else can make it, the city had better use that engine.

The city of Boston consists simply of the people of Boston, and it is an arrangement of those people for carrying on their own business in the simplest way. Instead of every man paving the street in front of his own house, the citizens have agreed that this chartered corporation called "the city" shall pave the streets for them. In precisely the same way, if they choose to say so, they may agree that the city of Boston may make their light for them.

All this is acknowledged immediately, whenever there is any strain. When the Civil War came on, it was admitted that the government could call every man out to sustain law, order, and the constitution. Nobody hired counsel to prove that it would be better to engage an army of mercenaries anywhere where there were mercenaries to engage. There have been such things; there have been people who took wars on contract, and were willing to carry them through by contract, just as there are people now who light cities on contract. But, when there is a great emergency like that of the Rebellion, nobody brings forward any such hypothesis. Another illustration, which has come to be regarded as a matter of course, is the illustration given by the mails. No one would now think of returning to the primitive system of the last century, in which the post-rider or collector of letters received for his service whatever the public was willing to pay. On the other hand, everybody, even gas companies, admit that the government must carry the mails, and that at an even or uniform price, whatever the service rendered. The success with which this is done is cited, indeed, when

people want a good illustration of the admirable results of popular institutions, and well it may be. As a piece of administration, the United States post-office is one of the marvels of this century. And it may be convenient to say here, what the newspapers are not apt to say, that the "administration" of America is the wonder and despair of the well-informed writers of Europe. It is convenient for partisan newspapers to pretend that it is corrupt and slow and wretchedly managed, but in fact our methods of administration are cited as models by the best writers in Europe. We have discovered new methods of administration; every new officer is anxious to distinguish himself by working out some improvement, and the consequence is that it often happens that the mercantile establishments are borrowing first-rate administrators from the public service.

It is the merest matter of practical expense and convenience which determines whether the government shall or shall not take in its hands the direction of the telegraph as well as the direction of mails.

Without any theorizing about it, the people of this country determined from the very beginning that the government should make their roads. There came a time when, by a blunder easily enough explained, certain turnpike corporations undertook to make superior roads, with the hope that the taxation of the travellers upon them would return an income which would support them. That is exactly the way in which we pay for our gas now. But the whole turnpike system broke down by its own weight; there was something preposterous in undertaking to peddle out the income and the dividend; and there are probably not a thousand miles of turnpike, carried on as turnpike, in the United States now. Sometimes a bridge gets itself built by a private corporation, but the payment of tolls on a bridge is now regarded as something feudal and amusing by the average American. He understands too well that the American principle is for the people to carry on everything which tends to the advantage of the people; and if a private corporation builds a bridge and controls it, it is understood to be a sort of dodo,—a survival of a former civilization.

At the bottom of all such considerations, there is this fundamental truth. A man who votes for the board of directors of the Cattaraugus and Opelousas Railroad is the same man who votes for representative and for senator. When you whine out your terrors that the administration of government will be corrupt, you are merely saying that you do not believe in the vote of the men who make the government; you are saying that you distrust republican institutions. If the man is cor-

rupt on Monday, when he votes for a common councilman or an alderman, he will be corrupt on Tuesday, when he votes for the director of the Cattaraugus and Opelousas Railroad, or of the Utopia Gas Company. But the truth is, the man is just as much to be trusted in one place as he is in the other. The public service in such things has the advantage of a great deal of ventilation, — a great deal of light and a great deal of air. When a city makes gas for its people, those people know where it buys the coal, and how much the coal costs, where it buys the rosin and how much the rosin costs, and they know that nobody makes any profit or any loss out of the transaction except themselves. That is an advantage which they do not have when every quarter a monopolizing gas company sends in its bill. The bill must be paid and that is the end of it.

The American people is a very sensible people, and they will carry forward the business of entrusting different manufactures to the governments, the local governments, the state governments, or the national government, just about as fast and as far as it will pay. They now make their own muskets in their own armories, which are the best in the world; they do not make their own cannons in their own armories, but it is very possible that some day they will, and on that day the world will not come to an end.

Edward E. Hale

FOR THE PEOPLE.

We are the hewers and delvers who toil for another's gain,
The common clods and the rabble, stunted of brow and brain,
What do we want, the gleaners, of the harvest we have reaped?
What do we want, the neuters, of the honey we have heaped?

We want the drones to be driven away from our golden hoard ;
We want to share in the harvest ; we want to sit at the board ;
We want what sword or suffrage has never yet won for man,
The fruits of his toil God promised when the curse of toil began.

Ye have tried the sword and scepter, the cross and the sacred word,
In all the years, and the kingdom is not yet here of the Lord.
We are tired of useless waiting ; we are tired of fruitless prayers.
Soldier and churchman and lawyer—the failure, is it not theirs?

What gain is it to the people that a God laid down his life,
If, twenty centuries after, his world be a world of strife?
If the scerried ranks be facing each other with ruthless eyes
And steel in their hands, what profits a Saviour's sacrifice?

Ye have tried and failed to rule us ; in vain to direct have tried.
Not wholly the fault of the ruler ; not utterly blind the guide ;
Mayhap there needs not a ruler ; mayhap we can find the way.
At least ye have ruled to ruin ; at least ye have led astray.

What matter if king or consul or president holds the rein,
If crime and poverty over be links in the bondman's chain?
What careth the burden bearer that Liberty packed his load,
If Hunger presses behind him with a sharp and ready goad?

There's a serf whose chains are of paper, there's a king with a parch
ment crown ;

There are robber knights and brigands in factory, field and town.
But the vassal pays his tribute to a lord of wage and rent ;
And the baron's toll is Shylock's with a flesh and blood per cent.

The seamstress bends to her labor all night in a narrow room ;
The child, defrauded of childhood, tiptoes all day at the loom ;
The soul must starve ; for the body can barely on husks be fed ;
And the loaded dice of a gambler settle the price of bread.

Ye have shorn and bound the Samson and robbed him of learning's
light ;

But his sluggish brain is moving ; his sinews have all their might.
Look well to your gates of Gaza, your privilege, pride and caste !
The Giant is blind but thinking, and his locks are growing fast.

From the New York Independent.

James Jeffrey Roche.

A TRUST ADVOCATE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED.

MR. GEORGE GUNTON in the *Political Science Quarterly* for Sept., 1888, after what looked like an apology for those who are generally found at the head of trusts, then proceeds to inquire, "*What are the distinguishing economic characteristics of trusts, as compared with the private capitalists and corporations?*" He finds them all to be fundamentally the same, in that their aim is selfish, and must be upheld by the "Let Alone School."

This, however, does not justify their existence, if on examination they are found to be pernicious to the social well-being. But are there not elements in trusts that do not exist with private capitalists; namely, the intent to throttle competition, and limit production?

Even Mr. Gunton admits that the effects are not the same socially. He contends there is an advantage derived from the existence of trusts because they are "*enabled to organise industry on a more complete and extensive basis—making more minute differentiation and higher integration of industrial energy possible.*" This argument, however, by itself, is really an argument in favor of co-operative Nationalistic methods of production, and is used by Nationalists as an argument in favor of their system.

The only difference when industries are directed by trusts lies in the taking advantage of Nationalistic means for anti-Nationalistic ends; and this may be, and often is, a double evil; for, as has been pointed out, the commodities produced by trusts may be exceedingly injurious to the community. Then we have the loss of labor in producing useless things, and the injury done in consuming them.

Mr. Gunton then proceeds to refute the following points:

1. That trusts tend to build up monopolies and drive small capitalists out of the business.
2. That they destroy competition, the great minimizer of profits and the equalizer of prices.
3. That they amass fortunes at the expense of the community by increasing the price of commodities.
4. That they tend to build up an oligarchy which wields its own interests against those of the community, thereby undermining personal freedom and endangering the existence of democratic institutions.

The first of these charges, namely, that trusts tend to build up monopolies and drive small capitalists out of the business, Mr. Gunton answers by asserting it to be "*an economic advantage to drive small capitalists out of the business.*" Now it is an economic advantage to supersede individual production by a co-operative production intended to benefit the whole community. But the economic advantage depends on the intention as to whether there is going to be co-operative distribution as well as co-operative production. The "*mere minute differentiation and higher integration of industrial energy,*" becomes worse than useless when the differentiated and integrated molecules—the industrial workers—do not receive their proportional share of the increased product, as is the case under individualistic distribution. The next charge is that the concentration of capital tends to destroy competition.

"*This is a serious mistake,*" says Mr. Gunton. He, however, does not quite mean what he says, as he explains later on. He only means that when the big fish—the trusts—have eaten up all the small-capitalistic fish, they will try to eat up each other. Here Mr. Gunton seems to forget that trusts are formed for the purpose of destroying competition, principally; the increased result from greater integration being only a secondary consideration, as we learn from their closing factories and mines, when they are not getting trust prices for commodities.

Mr. Gunton also argues as if trusts were the final evolution of this beautiful *Laissez-faire* system. If this were the case it would only be a proof that individual selfishness had worked itself out. But we have no proof that such is the case at present. The final evolution of this system, if allowed to work itself out, would be one great trust owning everything, including the people.

The third charge is: that the concentration of capital tends to increase prices.

Mr. Gunton here argues again that the concentration of capital into large enterprises is an economic and social advantage tending to increase production. This argument has already been met, in stating that the evil comes in when great enterprises are controlled by a few individuals for selfish or anti-social ends.

Here Mr. Gunton compares government and private control of telegraphs, and manipulates statistics to prove that by private control the work is done more cheaply. He also touches lightly on government control of the post office, and thinks we might perhaps have had our letters carried three thousand miles for one cent, if the latter had been under private control. If this is the case, why do not our enterprising

express companies offer to carry small parcels for one cent?

But if it were true, which it certainly is not in a higher sense—that private individuals could do the work cheaper than could be done under government control, what advantage would this be to civilization if the cheapness were obtained, as now, by reducing the workers' share of the product to the bare necessities of life? It is only the narrow 'shopkeeping' idea of cheapness, which permeates this whole system, and which cannot think beyond the counter.

The next charge against trusts is that through their immense wealth they are obtaining an increasing control over the government, and are thereby tending to become, not only industrial monopolists but political dictators also; the latter being the natural consequence of the former.

This charge Mr. Gunton finds upon investigation will also prove to be unfounded, but admits that "*it is true they have lobbyists and perhaps send out large sums of money during the legislative sessions, but any one who will investigate the matter will find that it is almost invariably to defeat legislation directed against them, and not to enact new laws in their favor. They are strong enough by virtue of their concentrated capital and improved methods of production to hold their place in the industrial world.*"

But suppose the historian in attempting to justify the acts of marauding barons of old or the pirates of the sea, should admit they had trusty vassals at the king's court, well supplied with money, yet that they did not use this money to obtain new laws in their favor. They were strong enough by virtue of their castles and ships; the only office these vassals had to perform was to bribe the courtiers and so prevent any official condemnation of their acts. Might not we think this a poor argument for their continuance, as we do when similar arguments are applied to their lineal descendants?

Mr. Gunton seems further to contend that, although there may be evidence that the concentration of wealth and power into the hands of a few has caused the destruction of all previous civilizations, yet such evidence is not applicable to our present capitalistic system.

Here Mr. Gunton gets in his fine work by manipulating the slippery terms used in the present economic system. He finds a new definition for capital: namely, "*productive wealth.*" But that capital is some times applied to further production is a mere accident, and not an essential characteristic of capital.

Taking Adam Smith's definition of capital: namely, "that part of a man's stock which he expects to afford him revenue" it will be readily

seen that capital is often used to the injury of the community in supplying demands arising from corrupt tastes and desires. The essential characteristic of capital is that it yields a revenue, or return, to an individual, or group of individuals and this return is in almost every case obtained at the expense of others.

If a law had not been passed prohibiting the immigration of the Chinese we should probably soon have seen the existence of a great opium trust in which "productive wealth" (capital) would be used to aid the destruction of the consumer of that article.

In a few generations hence we may imagine the intelligent school-boy, in reading the history of the nineteenth century civilization, coming across the word, capital, for the first time and very much puzzled as to its meaning, until he refers to his explanatory dictionary, when he will find some such definition as the following.

"*Capital*—in commerce. It was a mere commercial term applied to some wealth under conditions which have no existence now in any civilized countries. It came into being with the individualistic school, and was intended to express that part of a man's wealth which he meant to use as a power or tool to extract wealth from others, in the form of interest, profit or rent. But since there is now no wealth in any civilized country applied with any such intent, and since our new economy extends only to the right and economical use of terms, this word, "Capital," as used in commerce, has now become obsolete."

Ernest A. Norris.

BALLADE OF THE OUTCASTS.

THE VOICE OF THE MEN.

We are the Vagabonds that sleep
In ditches by the midnight ways
Where wolves beneath the gibbets leap :
Our hands against black Fate we raise
In lifelong turmoil of affrays,
Until we die, in some dark den,
The death of dogs that hunger slays :
For we are hated of all men.

THE VOICE OF THE WOMEN.

We are the Courtesans that creep
Beyond the town's lamp-litten haze,
Toward the bridges of the deep :
We watch the dawn with sinful gaze,
And dreaming of the golden days
When Jesus hallowed Magdalen,
We seek death in the river's maze :
For we are hated of all men.

THE VOICE OF THE CHILDREN.

We are the Innocents that weep,
While our bones rot with foul decays,
For all the woes that we must reap :
No mother sings us lulling lays,
No father o'er our slumber prays,
But forth we fare from den to den
To filch the death-bread of the strays :
For we are hated by all men.

THE ENVOY OF THE OUTCASTS.

Beware, O Kings whom Mammon sways,
Lest morrows nearer than ye ken
With our red flags of battle blaze !
For we are hated of all men.

Stuart Merrill.

IS MARRIAGE A FAILURE?

THE above subject has been made for some time a topic of discussion not only in the daily press but also in periodicals of renown, such as the *North American Review*, the *Forum* and others. It seems that the subject excites a wide-spread interest, that apparently the public feels that there is a screw loose somewhere and is desirous of finding that worn-out or rotten place. I hardly know what to admire most; the patience of the reading public so lavishly treated, day after day, to discussions of such kinds, to laudations, vituperations and condemnations of the married state, or the fertility of the writers who poured forth such a stream of information. There were writers of both sexes that tried their skill at the solution of the problem, old ones and young ones, men and women that had been married, and those who had remained in single blessedness. The field was evenly divided between them. Some expatiated on the blessings of married life and endeavored to prove that it was not a failure: others took a more pessimistic view and proved to their readers that the blessedness of single life was much more preferable and that the failure of married life was complete.

Strange to say, the writers, when the dividing line between them was the line of sex, showed a magnanimity and charitableness towards the other sex which almost verged on the marvellous. Men would not burden women with the blame for the failure of married life, and women on their part took rather their own sisters to task and did not hold men responsible for the non-success of marriage.

I said before that the field was evenly divided between the contestants, but I feel that I must retract somewhat of my words. In some respects those who held that marriage is a failure were in a majority, because there was not one on the other side who did not concede that it required very favorable conditions, conditions that do not always occur, to make matrimony a blessing. The topic itself, however, still offers ample food for reflection. The material is by no means exhausted and the problem surely is not yet solved. I will therefore try another method; the same method which Mr. Bellamy has so successfully adopted for the solution of the social problem. The ills of life, the miseries that surround us, says he, are not unavoidable: they are not founded in nature: they are the con-

sequences of the principles upon which human society rests at present : they are the consequence of the mistake we make by working, one in opposition to the other, and by not working together for the same end. Remove this principle ; substitute for selfishness brotherly love ; take away from the individual the dread that he may lack the very next day (through conditions over which he has no control) the means of subsistence, and the evils of life will disappear and this earth become the paradise which the Creator destined it to be, and not the vale of misery which the greed and selfishness of man have made it.

This very same method will show us the question : "Is Marriage a Failure?" in an entirely different light and will allow us to find the answer, that marriage in itself is not a failure, but that the unfortunate social conditions that surround us are the causes and the only causes that make marriage in numerous cases, nay, almost in every case, if not a failure, at least a relationship that does not encompass all the happiness that it is expected to contain and ought to contain.

I beg the reader to divest himself, for a moment, of all that sentimentality with which discussions of marital relations are generally beclouded ; to do away with all those platonic ideas that exclude the physical instincts which attract the sexes ; to abandon furthermore the superstitious thought that the intercourse of the sexes in itself is sinful, the allurements of Satan ; and that celibacy and virginity, therefore, are the highest and most laudable virtues. May the reader bear with me for a short space, while I oppose the current, romantic conception of married life as if it were intended in the first place for a kind of business partnership, in the second place for the *conscious* method of propagating the species, and in the third place only as a means for the legitimate gratification of those instincts and passions which nature has so strongly implanted in every living being that without them humanity, as such, would be easily induced to commit suicide on a gigantic scale. May the reader pardon me when I reverse the order, making number three number one, and number one number three. This understood, it can easily be demonstrated that the failures which are said to accompany married life are the results of the present social order that lays upon the shoulders of the individual, the burden which society itself ought to carry and could easily carry ; that does not recognize the right of man to the means wherewith to sustain life, even if he is willing to contribute his share of work to their production ; that spans the masses before the coach of society upon which Hunger sits as the coachman and cracks his deep-cutting whip ; and that allows only a select few to enjoy an airy seat

upon the chariot, holding out over them, even, the dread that they may lose their seats and tumble down from their height to be crushed by the wheels of the vehicle.

If the instincts of nature would not blind us against it, a simple reflection would show us that under present conditions it requires an almost heroic effort to enter into matrimonial relations; nay, that it amounts even to crime to assume responsibilities such as the contracting parties do assume when there are no prospects of meeting them. A man who does not know whether he will have tomorrow the wherewithal to sustain his own life—how can he dare to attach to his wavering fortunes, not only one being that might possibly be able to struggle with him against the torrent, but children who for years must be dependent upon the parental support, and whose whole happiness is determined by the position which their parents hold in life?

That the poor ought not to marry has become almost a dogma with the rich, and even national economists (who endeavor to solve that riddle of the Sphinx, the social problem, by calculations of how much food there is absolutely needed to sustain the life of a human being and whether it might not be possible, as Mr. Edward Atkinson demonstrates, to save even of the small allowance that is given to the poor) have frequently and most earnestly advocated that the poor should not marry before they have reached a mature age, and what is more that they should regulate their marital connections in such a manner that their off-spring would be very few. Indeed, these cold-blooded suggestions might be of value, if nature itself did not brush them aside with a smile. The very first cause of matrimonial infelicity is therefore the insecurity of our conditions which places upon the individual a heavier load than he can possibly carry; and from this root spring all the other branches.

Notwithstanding all that theorists may say, nature urges an alliance of the sexes at the age of twenty; but with the exception of the wealthy, with the exception of those who have inherited from their ancestors, in the form of money or its equivalent, the means and assurances of subsistence, what young man could form under present conditions an attachment at that time of his life? He is scarcely able to struggle for himself; he is scarcely able to earn his own bread, and it is folly for him, folly in most cases punished with misery, if he enters into the matrimonial venture at that period of his life.

Nature, however, cannot be curbed: she defies the subtle reasoning of man that tries to cheat her out of her rights, and in consequence thereof we have prostitution flourishing in large cities and illegitimate births

occurring in great numbers in rural districts, both tending not only to make miserable the life of all parties concerned, but to break up the sanctity of matrimony.

If after years of a more or less dissolute life in which, as the saying is, "the young man has sown his wild oats," he has accomplished so much that his future looks a little brighter, suggesting that he might possibly be able to support himself and others, then, if he ventures to marry, he generally selects his mate with one eye to utility and the money-question steps into the foreground, which in after life so often proves to be a cause of dissatisfaction and misery. Furthermore, the natures of the contracting parties are then too far divided, by the gap of years that spans between them, to permit them to blend with each other. The younger of the two who has not the experience of the other is unable to understand him; and in the same degree the older is unfit to bear with the inexperience of the younger.

Most matrimonial infelicities may be traced to this thing alone; to the misunderstanding that springs up between parties ill-matched in years. The demands of life on the one hand and our social conditions which burden the individual with responsibilities that society should assume on the other, make it difficult even for the well-to-do to raise a large family. After one, two, three, children have appeared, parents begin to dread the advent of a fourth or fifth one. They see in them no longer a blessing—and let it be said here, if it is passed with silence every where else, that no criminality is so wide-spread through all classes of society as the one which tends, as it is called in polite language, to regulate population.

It is not my business at present to tear away the cover which hides an evil that is more unnatural and more inhuman than what is called "the social evil." Neither will I accuse the perpetrators; but I do accuse our social conditions that produce this criminality. It is again the fear of the next day; the fear that bread may be wanting for the new-comer; the despair of rearing a number of children in what is called "a decent manner," which is, in fact, the cause of the evil. In a social condition in which the diligent and industrious man even may be thrown out of work the next week and may be left with his family, a prey to starvation, it becomes rather a virtue than a crime to suppress population.

If, however, these are acknowledged facts; if in public sentiment Malthusian theories have assumed a scientific aspect and have ceased to be what they morally are, *criminalities*, why should it amaze us that

conjugal infidelity breaks up the happiness of so many families and keeps the divorce-courts busy?

Sexual intercourse that has lost its sacredness within the family is surely hardly more criminal outside thereof, but while we may blame the pulpit, press, physicians and all other leaders of humanity for their neglecting to suppress these evils, we ought not to forget that it is beyond their power to stay and correct these offences against nature, because the fault lies with our whole social system that does not provide for the support of the new-comer, and does not guarantee life to every one of its members. Let this first cause be removed: let society enter upon the plan of co-operation: let the nation guarantee to every one of its members, man, woman or child, the means of their support: let the broad shoulders of the community carry the load that now is too heavy for the shoulders of the individual, and marriage will cease to be a failure; men and women will attach themselves to each other, led by the pure impulses of nature; children will become a blessing to parents and their advent will be greeted with joy.

Those who cannot comprehend a new order of things; those who believe that a radical change in our social conditions is impossible, or if possible, would be followed by disastrous results, claim that one of the first consequences of a new order of things would be the disruption of the home, the disruption of the family. Far from it. Family life then only would become the sacred institution which at present it is not. The relations of husband and wife, parents and children, would become more sweet and strong than they are at present.

For thousands of years has humanity experimented with these very relations and it has always found that, whenever one evil was removed, another would appear; that, when a leak was stopped on one side, a new leak sprang open on the other. It has preached and legislated against the social evil; against infanticide, both before or after birth; but it has never been able to suppress the crime.

Why not, therefore, try the new method? Surely conditions cannot be made worse than they are, and sober reflection will teach the well-meaning that only through a radical change in our social conditions can the problem be ultimately solved, matrimony become a sacred institution, the family be built up on a solid foundation, and marriage cease to be a failure.

Solomon Schindler.

THE EFFECT OF OUR PATENT LAWS.

THE intention of the Patent Laws is, that any person making a useful improvement in any existing thing or method, or inventing an altogether new and useful thing or method, shall have a monopoly of the profits arising from the manufacture and sale or use of the same, for a certain term of years, to the end that invention may be encouraged, and to the final end that the public may be benefited by the use of the improvement or invention. In other words, the intention of the Patent Laws is to encourage inventors to work for the interest of the whole people.

This statement will hardly be denied, first: because *all* law is supposed to be for the good of the whole people; and second: because the patent is granted for a term of 17 years only, whereas if the patent laws were wholly for the benefit of the inventor the patent would be granted to the inventor and his heirs and assigns *forever*.

But although all laws are supposed to be for the good of the whole people, it is not necessary for one to be a Nationalist in order to see that laws are so used and warped and twisted by those whose business it is to do so, that a very small part of the whole people receive any benefit from them and the patent laws are no exception to this, as we shall presently see.

Let us suppose that an inventor has made a new and useful improvement in electric lighting: everybody knows that in the present state of the art it would be almost a miracle if the improvement could be used, except in connection with some established system which is itself covered with patents, and already in the control of a monopoly. In such a case, are the inventor and the public likely to receive any benefit? Let us see. The *American Machinist* of New York, a paper published, as its name indicates, in the interest of Machinists, and Mechanics and Manufacturers generally, said editorially a few weeks ago, that at the present time the ownership of a patent served only to give the owner a certain standing in the courts. The truth of this statement will be admitted by all who have given the subject any attention.

Now, the vast majority of inventors are notoriously without money or influence with which to defend their rights in court, and the consequence is that the vast majority of patents sooner or later slip from the

hands of the inventors into the hands of either monopolies or those who have the necessary capital with which to bring out and push the invention, and the inventor often does not realize enough to pay the expenses of taking out the patent, say about \$75.00 on an average. But passing over this fact, which is so well known as hardly to need mention, and supposing that the inventor is one of the few who are so fortunate as to have business talent enough to get a fair, or even a large, amount of cash or its equivalent for his patent. What share of the good to which the public is entitled under the *spirit* of the patent laws is the public likely to receive? Before proceeding, let me state that this paper is not intended as a phillipic against Electric Companies in general, or against anybody in particular; and to simplify and reduce the subject to a broad Nationalistic platform, let us suppose that in addition to the Electric Manufacturing Companies all the present electrical and mechanical industries that are monopolistic in their tendencies, such as the Telegraph, the Sewing Machine Companies etc., etc., were united in one gigantic Trust or Combination. The object of all such things is to make money, and to this end thousands of patents are already bought up by powerful companies and *put upon the shelf simply to keep some one else from using them*, because they can make more money by continuing their present methods, than by adopting the new, *as long as they can make the public pay*, and they can make the public pay, just as long as they can keep the new inventions out of the hands of rivals, which they do, in the manner just mentioned. Of course this is an extreme view of the case, as no one would be foolish enough to claim that the public had received no benefit whatever from trusts and combinations directly, to say nothing of the great educational good that they are doing from a Nationalistic standpoint.

The fact remains, however, that it is claimed by those who ought to know that the Western Union Telegraph Company, for instance, own patents which, if put into use, would make it possible for telegrams to be sent as cheaply as letters are now sent, as far as cost to the Company is concerned.

A well-known Hartford inventor who has been remarkably successful in perfecting a certain machine lately said to me: "We now call our machine perfect! It does the work perfectly, and at a greatly reduced cost, and you might suppose we could sit down and enjoy ourselves, but there is no rest for the weary; we are obliged to keep getting up new ways, and covering them with patents, in order to keep others out of the business; it's a mean way, I know, but we are obliged to do it to protect ourselves."

It would seem at first thought as though the great inventors of the age, were doing more harm than good by the influence of their example in prostituting their great genius for mere money, as so many of them practically do by allowing their inventions to be bought up and shelved by powerful companies and it would further seem as though the effect of the Patent Laws, or at least the way in which the courts allow the Patent Laws to be used, or abused, must sooner or later be to discourage instead of encouraging invention, because inventors, the majority of whom, as before mentioned, are without money or influence, must sooner or later become a set of dogs in the manger, since the most generous can hardly be expected to work wholly for others, and in the meantime starve to death.

But these seemingly undesirable things are probably necessary, before much improvement can be expected, as it seems that every good has had to grow through some abuse or what seemed at the time to be a misfortune, as for instance the Chicago fire, the present result of which is that Chicago is in many respects the most magnificent of American cities. Thus do we expect to see justice to inventors grow out of injustice, and benefits to the public grow out of monopoly and oppression, but how long must we wait?

It is, to a certain extent, in the power of Nationalist Clubs to shape the answer to this question. Let them not be unmindful of their opportunities.

Walter L. Cheney.

COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION.

NATIONALISM, in its theoretical form, may be defined as the formulated expression of the evolution of society from competition to co-operation. It is not a metaphysical deduction from an *a priori* principle, that may or may not have any relation to facts, but is a scientific induction, *a posteriori*, from ascertained social phenomena. Thus the first clause in our Declaration of Principles, viz. : "The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that governs the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature," is not one of those meaningless phrases so dear to the heart of the social doctrinaire, but is a *post factum* affirmation of the tendency of humanity to evolve from individualistic anarchy to nationalistic co-operation. This affirmation is founded on the very facts of civilization. In our political system, have we not already attained to wellnigh complete Nationalism?

There was a time in the history of the world when men, followed by their dams and whelps, were as wolves one to another, each against all and all against each. Later the individual families, by marriage and alliance, organized themselves into tribes for purposes of co-operative offence and defence. From a subsequent union of tribes was evolved the nation, with its yet more complicated system of political co-operation. And now publicists foresee still vaster federations of the four great races, the Anglo-Saxon, the Germanic, the Latin and the Slavonic. The ultimate term in this process of political evolution will be Internationalism, when the socialistic principle of co-operation shall have definitely superseded the anarchistic principle of competition.

This process, which is so evident in the political world, is hardly less evident in the industrial world. Both classes of employers and employed are almost unconsciously forced into associations of capital and labor, formed unfortunately, at the present moment, for purposes of collective selfishness. Association is the only means whereby the employers can control, and the employed resist the coercive forces of that Frankenstein of iron and steam which we call machinery.

For labor-saving machinery, which should have proved a boon to the laborer, has become his bane. It has never saved labor to any one but

the employer of labor. Where the workingman used to be master of his tools, he is now their slave. Machinery is constantly reducing skilled labor to unskilled labor. Now whereas the skilled laborer could exact a fair return for his labor, the unskilled laborer must accept, under guise of free contract, but really under duress of hunger, the unwritten terms of his employer: "Do as much work as you can for as little as your competitors will take." While therefore the powers of production of machinery are ever increasing, the powers of consumption of the laborer, measured by his real or nominal wages, are ever decreasing. The census of 1880 revealed the fact that 20 millions of people, receiving an average wage of \$300 a year, were practically performing, with the aid of machinery, the labor of 227 millions of people and the produce of this labor could not be consumed, because, forsooth, in our state of civilization, the laborer can only consume to the amount of his paltry wages. Truly, were some Gulliver to visit us from a co-operative planet, he would greatly marvel at this self-imposed contradiction of increasing powers of production and decreasing powers of consumption!

The endeavor of the workingmen, organized in trades-unions, has hitherto been to increase, with wages, their powers of consumption, and to decrease with the hours of labor, their powers of production. This endeavor is foredoomed to failure, for not only have the trades-unionists to fight against capital, which can always afford to wait while they starve, but also the unskilled labor within their ranks and the unemployed labor without. The trades-unions, however, are doing invaluable work in teaching their members the necessity of co-operation and they will form at some future day, the industrial *imperium in imperio* of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

We have only spoken thus far of labor. What of capital?

The same forces that are at work behind the evolution of labor are at work behind the evolution of capital. The small capitalist has succumbed to the large capitalist, and the large capitalist is in turn succumbing to national and inter-national trusts. The trusts have sprung naturally from favoring conditions, and they will thrive under repressive legislation as surely as the old land trusts. It is advanced in their defense that they correct the very evils of competition of which the Nationalists complain, by controlling and limiting production. But no pretense is made that they stimulate consumption. They will never furnish bread to the starving, but only to those who can afford to buy it. They mitigate the evils of competition, not among the laborers, but

among the capitalists. For it should be borne in mind that as competition is growing milder in the ever narrowing circle of capital, it is growing fiercer in the ever widening circle of labor. The time is fast coming when the masses, led by Hunger, will face the classes, protected by Wealth. Shall it be for weal or for woe?

The answer is not doubtful. For already the trusts and trades-unions are doing the work of Nationalism, by demonstrating the practicability of its principle of association. From a union of their two forces of partial co-operation will spring integral co-operation. Upon the ruins of the competitive state will arise the Co-operative Commonwealth, with its system of equilibrated production and consumption. Then private interest will no more be hostile to public interest, but they will become identified, and as in a huge partnership, the purest altruism will prove the truest egoism.

To those who go about asking: "In what ways and days shall this dream of Humanity be realized?" answer should be made by referring to the facts of industrial evolution. The present is full of the future, and the problem is even now working itself out. But lest it work itself out in the tears and blood of future generations, it behooves all good men and true to go forth as prophets and apostles—prophets of the inevitable, apostles of all possible peace.

And this self-imposed mission will appear to be less a duty to others than to themselves, if they take to heart those terrible words of a great Frenchman: "The present misery of the world is the fault of nobody; it is the fault of everybody."

Stuart Merrill.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A HAPPY PARALLEL.

Some of the newspapers are getting disturbed about the Nationalist movement. The Milwaukee Sentinel thinks that the "common sense people" of this country are going to have a serious time dealing with us, and the Atlanta Constitution appears to feel really alarmed. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," it says "led to the downfall of our property in slaves" and it fears that "Looking Backward" will organize a "new crusade against property and private rights in general." While "property and private rights in general" have nothing to fear from the Nationalist doctrines or their application, still the parallel made by the Atlanta Constitution is instructive. The influence of "Looking Backward" is feared because of what "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did! There are few today who deplore the effect of Mrs. Stowe's great novel; it did an enormous work in arousing the public to a sense of the iniquity of chattel slavery, and to place it in the same category is a high though unintended tribute to the moral power of Edward Bellamy's noble story and its potentiality to awaken even a stronger public sentiment; this time, against wage-slavery.

THE SHADOW-SIDE OF THE CENTENNIAL.

The Centennial anniversary of the inauguration of our great first President was celebrated in New York with unprecedented magnificence and the usual amount of national self-glorification. Indeed, the progress of the past hundred years is marvelous, and a worthy subject for national pride. But there is a very shadowy reverse to the picture, and The Twentieth Century lays proper stress upon this in its suggestion that the committee would have made the civic parade more truly representative of the century of history that we have left behind if they had put one or more "floats" in the procession with tableaux containing an assortment of millionaire monopolists, sewing-women, factory children, unemployed workmen and tramps, and if they had devised some way of calling public attention to Cherry street, where Washington was entertained after his inauguration but which is now crowded with filthy tenement rookeries. And the great show calls out these words: "Such is the civilization of the nineteenth century—bright colors, brass-bands and soldiers; a parade of wealth and a concealment of poverty. Surely the twentieth century has something in store for us beside which all this will appear to be what it really is—barbarism."

THE WORD FOR THE OCCASION.

The easy-going optimism of the orator of the Centennial, Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, naturally reluctant to perceive lines cast in less pleasant places than those enjoyed by his prosperous self, and who saw an eternal blue sky radiant with sunshine stretching over the nation, was fairly offset by the curious sermon of Bishop Potter, which has made a profound impression all over the country. May the lesson be heeded! Were our opinions not optimistic, the Nationalist would have no excuse for being. A glorious future must indeed be in store for this wonderful country, but that does not make us blind to the perils through which our way lies before we can attain it and the troubles that we must endure before we can learn the lesson of the true road. In its comments on the event the Boston Herald said: "The most prominent and immediate danger to our institutions today is danger from a plutocracy corrupting the ballot box, and the centennial occasion should not pass without a reminder of the fact."

A LESSON FROM THE BOSTON CITY HALL.

A beautiful example of the blessings of private control of a public service proceeds from the Boston City Hall. It is to be commended to the attention of Mr. Chandler and his colleagues, as well as to that defender of the rare measure of "social and industrial freedom" enjoyed under the present system—the Boston Transcript, and also to that old-fashioned advocate of retail reforms in homoeopathic doses—the Boston Post. The city has been paying a private company something like \$10,000 a year for the electric lights in the City Hall and the adjacent Court House, Registry of Deeds, etc. Investigation showed that a plant of its own could be established by the city in the basement of the former building, and the lighting done at a net cost of something like \$3,000—an annual saving of about \$7,000. An order to this end was introduced in the City Council, but it was smothered in the Board of Aldermen owing to the political "pull" enjoyed by a prominent ex-official interested in the electric light company, and politicians interested in the great Bay State Gas monopoly. Had this plant been put into operation, the natural query would have arisen with the public: "If the city can effect such a saving in lighting its own building, why could the service not be extended to adjacent private buildings, with like economy; and then why might not the same principle be applied to the entire city?" This would be an awkward question for the Transcript, which rather inconsistently rebuked the city government for not establishing its own plant before, and saving an extravagant outlay, and the certainty that it would arise naturally spurred the illuminating interests to secure the killing of the measure. Their exhibition of power in this instance affords an instructive object-lesson as to the corrupting influences which the existence of public services in private hands always exerts upon the government that has relations with them.

REVIEWS.

MR. ALFRED D. CHANDLER (one of the able corporation counsel who figured on the wrong side in the tournament which the Nationalists held, last April, with the Gas and Electric Light Monopolists under the dome of the Massachusetts state house and the supervision of the legislative Committee on Manufactures) has good grit which is in general an excellent thing for a lawyer, though sometimes bad for his case and client. He came forward originally as the attorney of the Danvers Gas Company, remonstrating against the petition of the town of Danvers that Danvers might be allowed to furnish its citizens with electric light. He at that time made a very elaborate argument which took up about five columns of the *Boston Herald*, a paper of large circulation charging a good round sum per column for reading advertisements. It was supposed that Mr. Chandler's columnar argumentation would have considerable effect with the Committee on Manufactures if, after having had to hear it, they had it put under their noses in plain black and white. But many men have hurt themselves by rushing into print, and Mr. Chandler was no exception to this rule; for his printed argument was seized upon by a Nationalist who in a speech of thirty minutes before the Legislative Committee proved that Mr. Chandler's special plea was a tissue of the most grievous absurdities on purely logical grounds, apart from general Nationalistic principles. The Committee on Manufactures evidently agreed with the logic of Mr. Chandler's Nationalist opponent, for they reported unanimously in favor of granting the Danvers petition. This was a totally unexpected victory for the friends of Danvers and popular freedom, and a rout, if not a Waterloo, for Mr. Chandler:

After such a defeat an ordinary man would have retired into the obscurity of discretion—to meditate a while before re-encountering the fierce sunlight of publicity. But Mr. Chandler is not an ordinary man: he is much abler than any argument he had yet made and he has a valor worth of a better cause. In fact, a man who dared to print this corporation threat—namely: "Before Capital to the extent of \$15,000,000, invested in Gas and Electric Light companies in the state of Massachusetts, is imperilled by such attempted legislation *it will assert itself*"—a man, who

under that gilt dome stiled the state house, had the hardihood to use such language commands an opponent's respect. He has the courage of his corporations, if not of his convictions. But unlike Alexander and like Don Quixote, Mr. Chandler seems always to be ready for new fields in which to get conquered. Beaten in his special plea, he comes back to the attack in general and with the agility of an intellectual acrobat tries to jump to conclusions, in no time, over the whole surface of the body of Nationalism, in a curious pamphlet stiled "Municipal Control of Commercial Lighting" with the sub-title, "Nationalism Analyzed."

This production is an array of one-sided statistics, the gathering of which in so short a time displays remarkable diligence, but the very haste with his work has been done has prevented Mr. Chandler from thoroughly considering his theme and, since he starts from mistaken premises regarding Nationalism, his jumped-at conclusions are naturally erroneous. For instance, it is assumed that the arguments of Nationalists favoring public control of monopolies of municipal service, such as water, gas, electric light, horse-cars, steam-cars etc., are based on the profitable revenue derivable from such sources and Mr. Chandler wastes considerable skill in showing that such institutions as the post-office and waterworks which are not run for the sake of revenue are contrary to established principles and therefore are not in accord with Nationalism. Now on the contrary, as Mr. Chandler can find out by monthly study of the NATIONALIST the fact is that one of the basic ideas of Nationalism is opposition to the profit-system. To be sure, the fact that profit was derived from such undertakings in certain European countries was cited by Nationalists at the Statehouse hearings, but that was merely done to show that it was an easy method of raising revenue and was thus a form of light taxation often preferred by a progressive public to taxation by direct rates; and also to hint that a large revenue in the shape of rental might easily be secured from private interests that now occupy our highways, substantially free of charge. But, of course, the best service by public control would be rendered in affording the lowest possible rates.

Passing over Mr. Chandler's mistake in the premises, however, as one very natural and easy to make under the circumstances, what is the first point noticeable in his statistics? Unluckily for the success of his argument with candid minds, it is the vital, the fatal point that they are compiled chiefly from antagonistic sources; compiled by persons anxious to sustain *laissez-faire* theories etc., and many of them belong to the large class of pseudo-facts so facile for

partisan statistical methods. For instance, Prof. Hadley's comparison of the German nationalized and the English private railway system is manifestly unfair—and illogical. The only just comparison is that of a Nationalized system with that of the same country, or place, before Nationalization and right here let it be said that the improvement in the German service since Nationalization has been so marked as to have converted many former opponents of the change, just as Mr. Chandler may be converted if he will study the subject for a year or so before attempting to write about it.

But the most audacious thing in Mr. Chandler's defence of our present rotting industrial system is his claim of superiority for our blundering Western Union Telegraph over the superb nationalized systems of Germany and England. Here, the "authorities" cited are too funny for anything: like the jokes of Homer's gods, the monopolists of Olympus, they are calculated in a candid mind to provoke "inextinguishable laughter." Does Mr. Chandler really fancy for a moment that the dictum of that solemn humbug, the *London Times*, has weight with any sensible American? Has he forgotten its opinions during our struggle for Nationality, the first step towards Nationalism, in the dark days from 61 to 65? Has he forgotten its costly judgment of late in the case of that patient fighter, Charles Stuart Parnell? And then, again, when we reflect that statistics concerning the efficiency of the telegraph here must of necessity come chiefly from the Western Union itself, we would like to ask Mr. Chandler in good faith and on his honor whether the reputation of that great and irresponsible private monopoly is such as to give special trustworthiness to its evidence in its own behalf.

One more point and we part with Mr. Chandler for the present. The bugbear of cost in assuming public control is made formidable with desperate figures. But the Western Union never paid a dollar, probably, for the purchase of the numerous rivals it has swallowed. Did it not issue its own stock in exchange for theirs? In the same way the Nation might issue its bonds for the purchase of the railways, making the net debt assumed thereby very small in view of the assets, however large the total figures might appear.

But even were Mr. Chandler's figures remarkable for fairness, they would be no argument against the principles of Nationalism. An electric railway service has lately been established between Boston and Cambridge, running over tracks still occupied by horse-cars. The speed of the former cannot, therefore, be greater than that of the latter and old fogies who oppose innovations are just now pointing to this stray

fact as proof of the inadequacy of the electric system. But is it fair to say that electric cars are no improvement over horse-cars, on this account? Time settles and settles rapidly all single-fact argumentation. The horse-cars will soon be replaced entirely by the electric service and a rapid-transit system will then become practicable.

So Nationalism must at first establish itself under the limitations of faulty old conditions—conditions which a year hence many will blush to remember that they ever attempted to defend. When those faulty old conditions, those impediments, are removed and the track cleared of its present slow-going and cumbrous rolling-stock, the new chariot will glide on smoothly—and swiftly! and the people will be driving—not driven!

“THE DAWN” a new monthly paper issued by the Christian Socialists of Boston, is a highly interesting contribution to current literature. Its managing editor, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss is a sincere and able man and its associate editors, responsible only for what they sign, Rev. O. P. Gifford, Rev. P. W. Sprague, Prof. Hamlin Garland, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Edward Bellamy, Rev. Heber Newton, Rev. H. C. Vrooman and Chas. H. Fitch are thoughtful and scholarly writers. It contains an excellent article “The Church and the Gospel of Push” by Mr. Bliss who, by the bye, has written a paper on Nationalism and Christianity which will open the July NATIONALIST. Among other noticeable features is a poem “The Coming of the Dawn” on the first page from the pen of Charles H. Fitch of Colorado. The eighth page is taken up with a valuable list of works on Socialism and political economy which no Student of practical problems should be without. Altogether the Dawn is a credit to its editor and a help to the cause of humanity and to it, as such, the NATIONALIST extends the right hand of comradeship and wishes it a shining success. Its low price, 50 cents a year, ought to secure it a place in every Christian household. Published by the Progress Publishing Co., 36 Bromfield St., Boston.

NOTICE.

Owing to the pressure on our space and the forced absence of the associate editor having it in special charge, the Department, News of the Movement, is omitted this month. In brief, however, many new clubs have been formed in Kansas, Minnesota and California, and the clubs in the great cities, New York, Chicago, Washington, Hartford, etc., etc., report valuable additions to their membership. In the July NATIONALIST special and full reports may be expected.

J Edward Hall, one of the organizers of the New York Nationalist Club, a faithful worker, a good man, a helper of humanity has passed away. Such men as Howells, Jonathan Sturges, Stuart Merrill and many others bear witness to the impression which this man of humble life made upon them personally. He has passed away :

But the presence of that companion,
 Though we never may see again,
 Shall spread deep roots like the banyan
 And its perfume shall remain.

O friends, we are blundering blindly,
 Like men in a mist of tears,
 That presence so true and kindly
 We shall meet in coming years.

Yes, *meet* : for, since from the portal
 Of Chaos came forth Man,
 The longing for life immortal
 Hath colored his every plan.

Yes, life — new life — is ever
 The surety that Nature shows
 And to this one law forever
 The infinite system goes.

So, close up the ranks, my brothers
 And with hearts too high to fail
 Let us say "Farewell" — while the others
 On the other side cry "Hail!"

Henry W. Austin.

“THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY.”—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*



THE NATIONALIST

JULY, 1889.

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Our Prospective Sovereigns	<i>Edward Bellamy</i>
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THE NATIONALIST.

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No. 3.

THE GREAT FRENCH CENTENNIAL.

This month will see the real opening in Paris of the greatest industrial exposition the world has ever seen. Although boycotted by monarchical governments whose representatives will not be present, the Republics of the world as well as the labor organizations are taking a vital interest in it. It will be opened on the French "Fourth of July," July 14, to celebrate the centenary of the fall of the Bastille in 1789.

1789! What memories these figures conjure up in the mind of every student of history! Who that has read Carlyle's marvelous prose-poem, that passionate reproduction of the fire and passion, the rage and tears, that violent vision of the many-tinted dawn and blood-red sunset of the Revolution will ever forget that year?

On the 14th of July of that ever memorable year, the poor, despised working-men of Paris arose in terrible strength and dashed in irresistible waves against that embodiment of kingly power and feudal privilege, the prison of the Bastille. Every drop of this gigantic wave which fell back was a bloody foam-fleck of life; but the shock was so fearful that it not only razed to the ground those massive stone towers, but with them toppled over the throne. The old feudal system, by which the laborer was a slave of the soil, was uprooted and he was free to sell his labor to those who possessed the land, money and instruments of production.

On that day the Republic was born, to last until October 4, 1795, when it expired for a time with Napoleon's celebrated "whiff of grape shot" to rise again in conditions strikingly analogous to those existing when it was snuffed out.

One hundred years have gone by and great changes have been made in the condition of the worker. Steadily his level has been raised, mainly by his own struggles, but faintly seconded by others. The historian has told the wars and intrigues of the king and the few who surrounded him.

The true history which will come some day will chronicle the lives, sufferings and joys of the workers, the many that toil in that industrial hive which we call a nation, and not the out-goings and in-comings of the drones.

Step by step the French workers have struggled forward to the higher goal set by some of their own social reformers. Their organizations, growing into what we call trades-unions, have steadily increased in numbers, intelligence and power. They have not stopped at demanding more wages, and less hours of labor. They now cherish, as their ultimate aim, the obtaining of the entire fruits of their labor. They exert a most powerful influence on the destinies of France and today its ministry is the result of their demands. The president of the Republic is himself one who holds radical opinions on labor and social reforms, while Clemenceau, the leader of the Chamber of Deputies, believes in the reorganization of labor. It is under such auspices that the French Republic is celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille.

Made famous by former world fairs, France beholds the exposition of 1889 far surpass any yet held, both in character and size. One peculiar feature is due to the fact that the labor organizations of France, to whom the government has contributed important subventions, will really control the exposition; its jury and management being largely composed of leading members of the different unions. As the greatest exposition ever held, it will thus most fittingly celebrate, by the display of the arts of peace, the revolution of 1789, which has borne so much good to France.

The people of that country now stand on the brink of another revolution. The old competitive system is sick unto death. Combination has taken the place of competition. Trusts, pools, syndicates and other forms of combination are as rampant in France as elsewhere. Political and social equality have been achieved in form, and the workers there are panting for industrial equality. Economic questions have superseded all others. The questions of the century have been in an ascending scale,—factory inspection, corn-laws, poor-laws, tariff-laws and slave-emancipation. Now comes the demand for the emancipation of labor.

“The coming revolution” is no longer an empty phrase in France. In this country the appearance of such a work as “Looking Backward,” showing what the social structure might be, and must be, unless a relapse to barbarism is desired, is regarded as portentous; but in France books of that tendency are common. The people are ripe for a change. A min-

istry, similar to that now in power, proposed to grant six million francs (\$1,200,000), to the National Machinists' Union to manufacture machinery-making machinery. The associated workers are preparing to do their own work with the assistance of loans from the government, and without an employer to reap a profit on their labor. Already, the French labor papers, which have long hinted at the coming change, are openly proclaiming that the centennial of the fall of the Bastille will witness the fall of the wage system.

After this centennial, these papers say, efforts will be made to reorganize labor by nationalizing the means of production (peaceably if possible), through the state. It is for this reason that the quarrel with Germany has been warded off, until after the exposition. It is intimated that with the change in France others will take place in Germany and England. Europe is sick of standing armies. With the overthrow of monarchy in these two countries, and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth, peace will reign. Such is the programme laid down by the leaders of the French people.

The exposition may thus be the burning-focus of the whole world. Delegations will be present from industrial societies all over the civilized earth who will attend the labor congresses to be held as a part of the exposition. A large representation is expected from American labor organizations. What the outcome of the exposition will be no one can foretell, one way or another; but one way or another it certainly must be an epoch-making event. As to the realization of the grand ideal, so long looked forward to, with its gigantic import, and tremendous pregnancy of result:—

Well, we shall see!

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD.

OUR PROSPECTIVE SOVEREIGNS.

First of all, we must heed the cry of the children. We must deliver them from the task masters and turn them over to the schoolmasters. The present school system of Massachusetts with its wretched twenty weeks of compulsory attendance up to the age of fourteen, with grammar and high schools for a few fortunate ones, is not a serious attempt to educate the people, and it is time that this was said plainly. The age of fourteen is no time to bring to a close the education of a prospective sovereign of the United States and custodian of its liberties. Merely to raise the age limit of compulsory schooling to fifteen, sixteen, seventeen or eighteen would, however, not help matters, for the reason that, in the majority of instances, those parents who take their children out of school as soon as the law is off, do so because they must do so, because they are themselves too poor to support them longer in idleness. Now, whatever others may think, Nationalists do not consider that the inability, or even the thriftlessness of a parent, is any sufficient reason why a child should be condemned to the life-long serfdom of ignorance. The duty the parent cannot or will not do toward his child the State must do.

It is my earnest hope that the Nationalist clubs may see their way clear to formulating and presenting to the voters of the State as a test for legislative candidates at the next State election a demand for a law raising the age of compulsory education to at least seventeen years, and the school year to at least thirty-five weeks, with a sufficient State provision for the support of the children of indigent parents while at school. It appears to me that this is a measure which all persons who hope for the evolution of a better social order will be prepared to support. The children are of no party; the children have no enemies; and surely it is most rational to begin the reform of society with that portion of it which is most plastic, that is, with the children. The advocates of all modes and schools of reform must here agree, for under whatever figure we may severally fancy the hoped-for new order, we must depend upon the children, who now ought to be in school, to put it into effect. Those on the contrary, who disbelieve in all reform or progress, and hold that the present heartrending social conditions are to endure forever, will be quite consistent in opposing the proposed measure. If their view is correct, the schools should all be closed and education forbidden the masses entirely, that, being more nearly brutalized, they may be less sensible of their degradation.

The attitude of persons on all important questions of improving the education of the masses will, I think, be found to correspond quite closely with their general belief on the larger question of the possibilities of human progress. One other point I want to speak of. The transfer to the schools of all children under seventeen now at work in stores, shops and factories would create a demand for adult labor which would not a little relieve the present glutted labor market. To make work by waste is poor political economy, but this would be to make work by saving — by saving the children.

EDWARD BELLAMY.

THE SOULS OF THE CHILDREN.

I.

"Who bids for the little children — body and soul and brain?
 Who bids for the little children — fair and without a stain?
 Will no one bid? What, no one — for their souls so pure and white
 And fit for all good or evil which the world on their page may write?"

II.

"I bid" cries Beggary, howling, "I bid for them, one and all!
 I'll teach them a thousand lessons — to lie, to skulk, to crawl!
 They shall sleep in my lair, like maggots; they shall rot in the fair sunshine;
 And if they serve my purpose, I hope they'll answer thine."

III.

"And I'll bid higher and higher" says Crime with wolfish grin,
 "For I love to lead the children through the pleasant paths of sin.
 They shall swarm in the streets to pilfer, they shall plague the broad highway,
 Till they grow too old for pity and ripe for the Law to slay."

IV.

"The prison and the gallows are plenty in the land:
 'Twere folly not to use them, so proudly do they stand.
 Give me the little children — I'll take them as they're born
 And feed their evil passions with misery and scorn."

V.

"Give *me* the little children, ye good, ye rich, ye wise,
 And let the busy world spin round, while ye shut your idle eyes,
 And your judges shall have work, and your lawyers wag the tongue,
 And the gaolers and policemen shall be fathers to the young."

From Selected Poems and Songs.

CHARLES MACKAY.

THE WASTEFULNESS OF COMPETITION.

Between the upper and nether millstones of extortionate monopoly and wasteful competition the people are being ground today to an extent that betokens impending disaster and yet renders very strange the complacency with which the pressure and the grinding are borne. As between the two — the banded horde that seeks to extort oppressive prices from purchasers of necessary commodities, and the warring individuals who strive each to ruin the other by the extremity of competition — there is but little to choose, for it is upon the suffering public that the burden falls, or will inevitably fall, in either case. The popular outcry from press and forum is directed mainly against monopolies, trusts, and combinations of every sort, while the evils of unrestrained and wasteful competition are placidly ignored. These much-maligned combinations, however, are but an effect of which ruinous competition is the cause; and legislators, writers, and orators alike, are striving with the resultant evils without discovering, or else are ignoring, the greater cause from which the oppressive monopolies have sprung.

But before proceeding further I must question and dispute the absolute evil of these combinations, and the utter depravity of those who are responsible for their formation. The question is one that admits of an easy solution. Combinations may be classified under two heads, according to the results of their operations. There are trusts which have for their purpose the reduction of the cost of production by the consolidation of many disjointed and separate industries, upon the principle that one large concern can transact a given volume of business much more economically than a number of smaller concerns can conduct an equal amount of traffic. In short, it is the economic principle of co-operation rightfully applied. Such combinations of individual enterprises may be made to result to the public good, as well as to the profit of their component members. Of such a character, I believe, is the Standard Oil Company, that most gigantic of trusts, which has been made the object of anti-monopoly argument and abuse of every shade and degree of intensity. Without the consolidation of individual interests which the Standard Oil Company represents, petroleum products never would have been furnished so cheaply to consumers, and the losses to the score or hundred or more of resisting individual concerns that have been crushed by this monopoly are as nothing compared to the gains to 60,000,000

users of oil. It must not be inferred from this argument, however, that the Standard Oil Company is presented as an immaculate or ideal combination. Far from that. It has given rise to, and fostered, many abuses in the shape of unjust discriminations by transportation companies with which lesser concerns have not been favored, but these are evils which legislation now seeks to correct.

The second class of combinations embraces those organizations of individual interests in which the element of productive co-operation is lacking, and in which the sole binding link is an agreement to maintain prices at certain points fixed by the combination. In trusts of this character there is no economy in production nor cheapening of commodities in the public market. The sole result is an increased cost to the consumer, and consequent larger and unearned profits to the producer. Under this classification may be placed a vast number of combinations of varying strength among the manufacturers of steel rails, steel and iron beams, bar-iron and steel, glassware, borax, lead, nails, sugar, iron pipe, paper bags, stoves, and a countless number of other articles. From this list must not be omitted the great copper ring, now happily defunct, and the agreements among miners and shippers of coal by which the output of the mines is regulated. All of these combinations are formed for the purpose of maintaining or advancing prices, either by arbitrarily fixing them at any desired point, or by curtailing production and thus so limiting the supply that the demand shall seemingly warrant higher prices. The directly hurtful results of such combinations are plainly obvious, and their evil lies in the fact that they are not formed for co-operative, and therefore beneficial purposes, but for oppressive, and consequently harmful ends.

Both of these classes of combinations spring from a common cause—wasteful competition. They are a natural and unavoidable step in industrial evolution, and it is in the natural course of events that they should increase in number and extent, rather than diminish. Competition rages fast and furious in every branch of industry or commerce. The strife is a fierce struggle for supremacy, and the participants are rapidly recognizing that their only safety lies, either in combining forces to crush their commercial foes, or else in abandoning their unseemly and costly competition and consolidating their interests upon a basis of co-operation that shall result to their profit and to the advantage of the greater public to which they owe their support.

The burden of this almost inconceivably wasteful competition falls, not

upon the competitors, but upon the public; not upon the few thousands of merchants, but upon the millions of toilers, many of whom labor for these very competitors who are striving to push each other to the wall. A single example will suffice to indicate in a measure the vast cost of competition. Nothing will serve this illustrative end more forcibly than the traveling salesman who is, pure and simple, an institution, or implement, of modern commercial competition. Careful estimates from a variety of reliable sources, place the number of commercial travelers in this country at 250,000. Their railroad fares, express or freight upon baggage, hotel bills, and incidental expenses range from \$4 to \$12 and more a day, averaging about \$6 daily. Salaries range upwards from \$900 a year. Thousands of men earn \$2000 and \$2500 a year; a smaller number receive salaries between \$3000 and \$5000, while a comparative few are paid from \$5000 to \$15,000, and in rare instances even more. Of course, as in every field of employment, the lower salaries are vastly in the majority, and \$1800 a year is a fair average.

Let us see what these figures will give us for the cost of this single element in competition. The expenses of 250,000 traveling men at \$6 a day amount to \$1,500,000 daily, or \$547,500,000 in 365 days. Then the salaries of 250,000 men averaged at \$1800 a year aggregate \$450,000,000, so that the two items of salaries and traveling expenses to be charged against the commercial traveler mount up to the astonishing total of \$997,500,000 a year. Nor is this all. In nearly every branch of business each man must be provided with his outfit of trunks, sample cases and his more or less complete line of samples. To give accurate figures or even approximate estimates in this direction is a hopeless task and I shall not attempt it; but here are a few facts to stimulate speculation: A salesman who handles a general line of dry goods, "notions," and "small wares," requires an outfit costing from \$50 to \$200, in addition to which the samples that he carries in a single year cost from \$1000 to \$2000. Some of these samples are sold subsequently, while others become worthless, or are lost altogether. To cover losses of this character, it is customary to make an allowance of thirty-three and one-third per cent., of the actual cost of the samples. Now it may readily be seen that a concern employing fifty to one hundred traveling salesmen, — and there are many at the latter figure, — is under an enormous expense in reaching its customers, not to mention such minor matters as store expenses, interest upon capital, etc.

And upon whom does this burden fall? Who supports this vast army of commercial warriors? Directly, the employer, of course; but while he pays all these enormous expenses he does it only as the disbursing agent of the purchaser and consumer, for it is upon them that the burden must rest at last. Indeed, the dry goods merchant figures: "We must allow five per cent on these goods to cover the cost of the salesman; on these it will amount to ten per cent.," and so on. This is not fanciful theory, but actual fact. This item of over \$1,000,000,000, charged annually to the account of the traveling man, is paid by the purchaser at retail, or consumer. And the expensive luxury of this form of competition brings neither advantage to the purchaser nor profit to the merchant, in the long run. Were there not a traveling salesman upon the road today the aggregate sales of merchandise would be likely as large as at present, and at lower prices the merchant would reap even greater profits than he now makes. The aggregate volume of business represents what is necessary to supply the people's wants, and with or without traveling salesmen the wants of the people will be supplied. The traveling man influences the aggregate volume of business but little, one way or the other. His only accomplishment is to enhance the cost of needful commodities and to cultivate extravagance, by forcing the sale of goods not actually needed by the purchasers. But so long as one firm sends out its travelers, others and all must do likewise. The traveling salesman is a modern business institution that is growing rather than declining; it is an institution that will eventually work its own overthrow. The tendency towards consolidation which so pervades all productive industries is beginning to make itself felt by those industries that are of a purely distributive character. The union of competing concerns renders possible a bisection of the traveling force. The consolidation of great commercial interests means the establishment of more distributing centres rather than the confinement of business to one, two, or three leading cities. The establishment of distributing centres in every large city lessens the usefulness and need of traveling salesmen, and thus this vast iniquitous system of wasteful competition will gradually eradicate itself.

This is but a single phase of the quiet but steady evolution which is preparing the way for the nationalization of our entire industrial and commercial systems, and the establishment of universal co-operation.

EDWARD H. SANBORN.

CAN WE POPULARIZE ABSOLUTE JUSTICE?

Absolute justice is more eulogized than practiced. Though as a millennial dream it stands haloed in the softened light of distance, as a present realization, it is unlovely and hateful to the eyes of the majority of men. Absolute justice as an abstraction is universally adorable; but as a present reality it is a most unwelcome guest. A man sometimes hates a woman as a wife whom he worshipped as a sweetheart. So a great principle is embraced with all a lover's ardor, until it is married to actuality.

The bitterest and most persistent opposition to the theories of the Nationalists will be made against their demand for absolute justice in the uniform reward of all labor. That the man who wields the pick should receive the same wage as the man who wields the pen; that the man who digs the sewer shall obtain the same compensation as the man who rules the state, is an unjust and vicious conception to men whose minds are biassed by the immemorial selfishness upon which the basis of existing institutions is founded.

But the truth which our fathers expressed in the glittering generality "All men are created equal" must be crystallized into something more than a mere phrase. Until one man is paid for the best he can do, just as much as some other man is paid for the best he can do, the Golden Rule is as inoperative as any obsolete law upon the statute book; and the old free-booter's conception

"That he shall take who has the power,
And he shall keep who can,"

is still the foundation principle upon which our civilization is built.

Should not then the genius receive more than the dolt? Surely not. Is not a man's genius its own exceeding great reward? And is not a man's doltishness a sufficiently heavy visitation of fate without heaping upon him the invidious burden of caste and the lifelong incubus of hopeless poverty? The fact that the dolt and the genius are born members of the same race should insure to them both an equal distribution of the things the members of that race deem most desirable. The laborer is worthy of his hire; and a man should receive a man's wages simply because he is a man. By "a man's wages" is meant, in this connection, the quotient obtained by dividing the total amount, paid out as wages in the world, by the number of men in the world. When this absolute justice has been made an actual realization, no man will live like a feudal baron upon the tribute wrung from his brother's poverty.

The Nationalists hope, in the course of time, to popularize absolute justice. To the ethics of ease and the gospel of greed this is the rankest heresy: "Unto the Jew a stumbling-block and unto the Greek foolishness." Of old, according to the poet, "Dwelt Freedom on the heights." But 'She gradually mingled with the race, and part by part to man revealed the fulness of her face.' Justice, like Freedom of old, is a partially veiled goddess. But when men behold her unveiled charms they will be fascinated by her grace and beauty.

So the Nationalists' only method of proselyting will be: "Part by part to reveal the fulness of her face." When Edward Bellamy was asked by what practical plan he proposed to carry his theories into execution, he replied: "When you want to induce a bachelor to enter matrimony, you don't go on with a lot of particulars about the marriage license, the gloves and the ceremony,—you just show him the girl, and let him fall in love with her, and the rest takes care of itself."

S. W. Foss.

DE PROFUNDIS.

Can you not hear, through all the day and night,
 Sounding, though deadened down by pride and tears,
 The cry that has been echoing many years,
 A weary moan, in darkness and in light?
 Or do you stand, as I did, on a height
 Where I knew not of sorrows or of fears:
 Where only sounds of joy stole to my ears,
 And beautiful were all things in my sight?
 But Fate, never again to place me there,
 Silent, resistless as a glacier's sweep,
 Has brought me nearer to the throngs below;
 So, now it seems, borne ever on the air,
 I hear the cry that rises from the deep—
 Up from the deep of poverty and woe.

CHESTER WOOD.

STINTED PRODUCTION.

The productive forces of the present day seem like a vast army of the giant Arabian Genii, ready slaves to fill the world with illimitable wealth for all, but manacled, or bottled up, by some mystic, demoniac foe of humanity.

Who and what is this foe, this preventer of the realization of human happiness? It is neither a man, nor a body of men; neither individuals nor classes: for no man or class would be powerful enough, fiendish enough, thus to shackle the powers of nature. We find the demon in the system of industry which now prevails; the system of production for profit. It is this system which, instead of stimulating the productive forces, throttles them, dwarfs their action, and limits their results to utter insignificance.

Let us for a moment examine this system, and see if these charges against it are not true. Under this system, the capitalist is the organizer of industry: and the realization of profit is his sole incentive to action. He stops production at the point where profit ceases. Therefore, no matter how great may be the capacity of the productive forces, in general, no larger an amount will be produced than can profitably be sold. Production is, therefore, limited by the market demand. If this limit be exceeded for any considerable time, loss, or even bankruptcy, must ensue.

It is the purchasing capacity of the *consumers* that makes this market demand. The mere *investor* does not permanently increase this market demand. He may stimulate production for a time by producing in excess of consumption; but he produces only that he may realize a profit on his investment; and he cannot realize such profit unless he sells to the consumer at a remunerative price either the article itself, or the use of it.

The purchasing capacity of consumers, being the measure of the market demand, is, therefore, the absolute limit of production under the existing system. If the amount of product is small, it is so only because the purchasing capacity of the whole body of consumers is small. Increase this purchasing capacity, no matter to what extent, and production will keep pace with it. Lessen it, and production must necessarily diminish in proportion. What makes and what limits this purchasing capacity of consumers? It is at this point that the demon appears in all its fiendishness.

Commodities are only labor stored up. An exchange of commodities, therefore, is only the exchange of labor for labor. Money is a commodity which forms no exception to this rule. When, therefore, the laborer exchanges his labor for money, or other commodity, he is exchanging merely labor for labor. In any *fair* exchange of labor for labor stored up in commodities, the laborer gets for his labor an equal amount of labor so stored up. That is to say, for the product of his labor, the laborer in a fair exchange will get the product of an equal amount of the labor either of himself or others. He will therefore get the full results of his own labor, or its equivalent. But under the profit system no worker can possibly receive the full results of his labor. If he did, there would be no profit for the capitalistic organizer of labor, and therefore no motive for the capitalist to risk his own capital and his own exertions in the organization of industry. The profit of the capitalist is, therefore, necessarily deducted from the results of the workers' labor, and only the remainder of these results is retained by the workers. As the profit thus deducted is great or small; as the expenses of the sale or distribution of the product, — that is, the cost of doing business, and the rents paid to the landlord, — are large or small, so is the amount deducted from the results of the labor of the workers greater or less. Competition among the laborers themselves fixes the amount which they retain from the results of their labor, at only such an amount, on the average, as will barely enable them to subsist. Thus the laborer gets but a small portion of what he produces, and what he does get, is, of course, all that he can exchange for labor stored up in money or other commodities. This is what constitutes his purchasing power; which is thus restricted to a very small portion of what he produces, or the equivalent of such small portion. This amount is all that he is permitted to consume. The introduction of new labor-saving machinery, by which is meant wage-saving machinery, deprives many thousands each year of the opportunity of earning anything at all.

The laborers, skilled and otherwise, constitute the great body of consumers. But the purchasing power of such of them as have employment at all, being thus limited to but a small part of what they in the aggregate produce, the remainder of their product must either be consumed by the capitalistic organizer of industry, and by non-producers, or else must remain unconsumed. As these latter classes cannot consume all this remainder, try as they will, we have almost continually before us the phenomenon of excessive, or as it is called, over-production; that is, production not in

excess of the needs of the people, but in excess of their purchasing capacity. This state of things results in the formation of combinations of the capitalistic organizers of industry, to restrict production within such limits that this surplus product can be disposed of from year to year, at remunerative prices, and the loss, which would otherwise occur, thus be avoided. But this restriction of production intensifies the evil it is designed to prevent; for it lessens the quantity of labor required, and therefore the amount of product which goes to the laborers: and so lessening their purchasing power, decreases the market demand. The surplus product must, therefore, still remain to a greater or less extent, in spite of the combinations and trusts; and production in proportion to population must thus ever be diminishing by reason of the diminishing purchasing power of the laborers.

There have been heretofore some causes which counteracted to some extent the operation of these principles. The opening up to settlement of new countries like the Mississippi Valley, and the vast investments in railways and other improvements thus made necessary and the introduction of new industries, like the rubber industry, which did not replace old ones have furnished employment for men who, otherwise, would have been forced to remain idle; thus maintaining their purchasing capacity which otherwise would have been destroyed, and enabling them to consume the surplus product. But these causes have long since become wholly insufficient to prevent the accumulation of these surplus products, and to furnish employment for the idle millions.

The trusts and combinations of capitalists in other ways reduce the purchasing capacity of the people. By the concentration of their means of production, they are enabled to produce larger amounts with a smaller number of men, throwing many out of work, and in most cases they increase the prices of all that the people must buy. They thus, with double force, restrict the purchasing capacity, and therefore the market demand.

These difficulties are intensified by the ever increasing productivity of labor, due to the constant introduction of new labor-saving machines, and improved industrial processes. The object of these is to save labor; that is, to diminish the amount to be paid in wages for a given product. According to reliable estimates, one man working with machinery, can now, on the average, in all lines of industry, produce as much as required the labor of twenty to thirty men fifty or sixty years ago.

But this increased productivity of labor, while it may to some extent

cheapen commodities, because less is paid for the labor to produce them, necessarily, and for this very reason, decreases the amount paid to the laborers as a body. The decrease in purchasing power, thus caused, necessarily lessens the market demand, and so again diminishes production. Thus, labor-saving machinery, which ought to be a blessing to all men, is, under the present system, only a means for the enrichment of the few and impoverishment of the many. The result is not an increase, but a diminution, of total production in proportion to population.

Thus it appears that from the very nature of the existing industrial system, production under it cannot possibly be in any way proportioned to the productive capacity of the country ; but must necessarily be extremely small in comparison, diminishing as the productive capacity of labor increases. This result is directly the opposite of what it ought to be, and what it would be under a sane system of industry.

It is clear that this evil of stinted production can readily be removed. All that it is necessary to do for its removal is to increase the purchasing power of the people, until such purchasing capacity equals the capacity of the productive forces, if so much is required to satisfy the wants of men. A system of industry that would give to each man and woman, who directly or indirectly bears his or her part in the work of production, an equal share in the results of the labor of all, would at once accomplish the desired object. And nothing less can accomplish it.

To do this, the system of production for profit must be abolished. Since from the essential nature of that system, the purchasing power of the masses can never be permanently increased so long as it is retained. In its place a system of production for use must be established, under which the action of the productive forces would be limited only by the product required to satisfy the needs and desires of the whole people. A system of production for use necessitates the establishment of such institutions as will enable men to co-operate with each other on equal terms, by promoting the fair exchange of labor for labor ; securing to each the full results of his labor. Such co-operative institutions as are required must necessarily be coextensive with the whole country ; and hence the State, which is all the people organized, is the only proper agent to establish these institutions ; enabling those who wish to do so, to co-act with each other in a system of production for use and not for profit. This would soon amount to an orderly organization of all the people under the State for industrial purposes ; and this for the reason, that it is infinitely preferable

to work under a system which guarantees to the worker the whole results of his labor, than to work under a system which enables him to get only a small part of those results. The co-operative system, under state organization of industry, would then immediately become universal throughout the nation, securing wealth and happiness for all. This is the nationalizing of industry for which we are working.

How vain and illusory, then, are the fears of the middle class that the organization of industry by the nation would diminish their comforts! It would, on the contrary, increase them beyond measure. For not only would their incomes be increased in most cases, but there would be established a condition of universal security; of trust by man in man; of freedom from the anxieties which today wear out the lives, even of the wealthy. This condition would be a paradise compared with the opposite state of society which exists today.

The present system, by depriving the great majority of all hope of rising above the condition in which they barely subsist, in a cheerless round of labor and suffering, keeps the millions on a dead level of hopeless degradation, sapping their natural energies; and requiring them to be driven unwillingly to exhausting toil by the wage-slave-drivers' lash of hunger. That such poor wretches should seek temporary solace in narcotics and intoxicants is not to be wondered at. That they should labor with that elasticity of energy which characterizes men who are producing for their own use, and obtaining all that they produce, is not to be expected.

Nationalism would give to each man and woman an interest equal to that of any other in the production of all. It would thus make it the direct interest of all that the joint product should be as large as possible. This would be a direct stimulus to exertion, which is wholly absent now; for, as has been shown, the workers under the present system, lose rather than gain by the increased productivity of their labor. Nationalism would make it the interest of each to see that no others shirked their duty: for a dereliction of duty on the part of one would lessen the joint product, and thus be an injury to all. Public opinion would, therefore, brand the idler as it now brands the thief, as unworthy to associate with his fellows; and would visit upon him, who wilfully and continually disobeyed the reasonable regulations of the industrial society, a punishment sufficiently severe, by depriving him of the benefits of such society.

But above and beyond all these lesser motives to exertion, by the removal of the antagonisms of interest, the religion of brotherhood, and the

sentiments of mutual duty and sympathy, would then for the first time in the World's history, be fully realized by all men ; and these, stimulating mankind to higher aims and nobler actions in the cause of humanity than have heretofore been deemed possible, would leave mere selfish motives far out of sight, and assure to the race a state of felicity and progress such as has never yet been dreamed of in our philosophy.

JESSE COX.

WANT.

They do not starve alone, who for the need
Of daily bread grow faint and gaunt and pale,
And take, despairing, the dark roads that lead
Beyond the veil.

They do not freeze alone, who for the lack
Of warmth which hearths and garments magnify,
From life's cold thoroughfares shrink trembling back
In haste to die.

They starve who have not Love to bear them up :
They freeze who know not Love's divine caress :
The want of Love ! It gives life's bitterest cup
Its bitterness.

Yet lo ! Love's voice, so long by strife kept dumb,
Shall wake earth's millions with resistless call :
I hear Her cry : " Ho ! brothers, sisters, come !
I claim you all ! "

GEORGE N. MILLER.

WHY THE NAME, NATIONALISM?

Edward Everett Hale, whose life-long devotion to causes which the Nationalist movement now concretes, makes him indeed, one of its most honored and eminent pioneers, has recently found some fault with the name, as not sufficiently indicative of the principles involved.

Let us then consider the word inscribed upon our standard, and endeavor to show our good friend and great follower, Dr. Hale, and perhaps other good friends who may not have pondered the matter as long as we, that our word is the aptest we could have chosen. In the first place, we wanted a name that would appeal to all, because our movement, unlike socialism as commonly understood, is not a class movement, but for the whole country. After reforming here we shall be stronger to reform the world. This practical idea was clearly in Bellamy's mind when he wrote our great book. He says there: "It was not till a rearrangement of the industrial and social system on a higher ethical basis, and for the more efficient production of wealth, was recognized as the interest, not of one class, but equally of all classes, of rich and poor, cultured and ignorant, old and young, weak and strong, men and women, that there was any prospect that it would be achieved. Then the *National party* arose to carry it out by political methods. It probably took that name because its aim was to nationalize the functions of production and distribution. Indeed, it could not well have had any other name, for its purpose was *to realize the idea of the nation* with a grandeur and completeness never before conceived, not as an association of men for certain merely political functions affecting their happiness only remotely and superficially, but as a family, a vital union, a common life, a mighty heaven-touching tree whose leaves are its people, fed from its veins, and feeding it in turn. *The most patriotic of all possible parties*, it sought to justify patriotism and raise it from an instinct to a rational devotion, by making the native land truly a father-land, a father who kept the people alive and was not merely an idol for whom they were expected to die."

Does not this definition by Mr. Bellamy justify most nobly the name as the most appropriate that could have been chosen? The designations of the two prominent existing parties, Republican and Democratic, are neither of them distinctly characteristic; either might with equal appropriateness be borne by one party or the other. A name should inherently convey the character of the thing or principle behind it. Other

names, suggested by our principles, are defective in this regard. "Collectivism," for instance, is too abstract, and lacks inspiring associations. "Socialism," on the other hand, whether justly or unjustly, is too suggestive in its associations; and to assume the dead-weight of the numerous prejudices which the word conveys in the mind of the general public — partly through the injudicious and often violent course of its followers, and partly through the lack of definiteness and consequent indiscriminate application to diverse and conflicting purposes — might handicap us heavily in the endeavor to rehabilitate and popularize it. The name conveys the impression, also, of limitations to "social" conditions, rather than applications to national and industrial or economic affairs; and it arouses mistrust and opposition through inference of intention to interfere with the more intimate concerns of society, such as family relations and the like. Moreover, and most important, socialism, as defined by its ablest exponents in this country, still clings to compromises with the old order, and would retain distinctions and gradations which must be abolished, else the evils now dominant would inevitably spring up again with all their baneful effects.

Nationalism, however, has no such drawback. More radical than socialism in its ideas, it differentiates itself further by being more conservative in its methods of applying them. Then, too, the associations of the word, Nationalism, are as lofty and inspiring as they are vital and definite. It would be hardly possible to stigmatize popularly a term so eminent; and a movement that gives an honor, a service and a comprehensiveness to national functions, will exalt nationality as never before in the public mind. Even in the infancy of our movement this is already perceptible by the way in which the name has taken popular hold.

There is, however, a seeming logical objection in the subordinate application of our principles to municipal conditions, such as in the local public control and ownership of functions and services like water-works, illuminating and heating supplies, etc. But it should be remembered that these are important *steps* towards the nationalization of industry; for, with the complete realization of our system, the only essential political entities, beside the inclusive nation, would be the municipalities, to which the exercise of local functions would of course be delegated; just as functions of self-help are now partially delegated to them by the various federative commonwealths, whose lines in turn are being gradually and surely effaced by the closer relation of the mass to the nation.

SYLVESTER BAXTER.

MASTODON-SAURUS.

A monster's head is on my doorstep's granite,
 A fleshless Caliban, yet wondrous tame ;
 Sharp snows assail it, summer breezes fan it,
 But still it bides the same.

Not the most blinding blizzard of Dakota
 Could break its iron slumber, or affect
 That irony of silence an iota,
 Whereby it wrings respect.

My friend, the man of science, says that action
 Was once the purpose of this passive stone,
 And that, in this odd lump of petrification,
 Thought had a towering throne.

Although that Thought, like many a well-throned tyrant,
 (My communistic scientist affirms)
 Was not to any higher food aspirant
 Than fruit, instead of worms.

Which fruit this elephantine iguana
 Plucked from strange trees and then, with steaming breath,
 Lay gorged to sleep along some hot savanna,
 A shining mark for death.

Ay, myriad foes besieged this lazy fellow —
 This huge, mammiferous, pachydermatous fool —
 Who only cared for fruitage moist and mellow,
 Soft grass and waters cool.

And who, like man too often, half in shadow
 And half in sunshine lolling, felt the lure
 Of sex alone nor sought an Eldorado
 Of Thought or Beauty pure.

“But yet” my friend, the scientist, continues,
 Tapping with fine French toe the stony head,
 “Through this dull form we with our balanced sinews
 And soaring minds were bred.

“Strange, is it not? And I, for my part, wonder
 When, in the evolution now called Man,
 The curious claim — vain flash from priestly thunder —
 Of special soul began.”

“Why, as for that, dear dogmatist of science,
 Factor of facts which are but transient things,
 You've proven (have you not?) that scaly giants
 Rose to evolving wings :

That snake turned bird whose notes of loving sweetness
 Were hardly hinted in the rattling scale
 With which the hideous, hissing Incompleteness
 Grooved out a slimy trail.

“Now, if these facts of yours be true — and truly
 I doubt them not, for they are comforting ;
 Since they imply that out of shapes unruly
 Must rise a ruling thing :

“A regal Power with purpose on his forehead
 And heart so large it claims for its embrace
 (Although its ancestors were saurians horrid)
 Eternal time and space ;

“And if, my friend, this onward, upward movement
 Has been since Earth, the sun-evolved, began —
 It seems to me this doctrine of improvement
 Need not stand still with Man.

“For if 'tis easy in the opening portals
 Of science thus man's rise from slime to solve,
 'Tis just as easy to suppose from mortals
 That angels may evolve.”

Then smiles my friend and answers : “Think how vital
 Was once this stony head : it had a brain,
 Which to its loving mate could make recital
 Of pleasure and of pain.

“But you think you have soul, the poet's lever,
 Although your ancestors, the reptile crew,
 Had none. You pride yourself on mind, tho' fever
 Your reason can undo.

“You think that when the shadows come in legions,
 And your bright life goes out like my cigar, —
 Your soul, like smoke, will rise to fairer regions
 Where joys immortal are.”

“Nay, friend, I push no claims ; but, like an humble
 Scholar, I wait till my great Teacher moves :
 In hope because I note, though still men stumble,
 Man rises and improves.

“And as this stone, poor head of saurian order,
 Perchance had some dreams of the man to be ;
 So I, who stand on Faith's dim sunset border,
 A grander dawn, a nobler form foresee.”

HENRY WILLARD AUSTIN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Nationalism at the Boston anniversaries.

The May anniversaries in Boston were notable for the prominence given to Nationalism. The Free Religious Association, which has lately adopted the policy of considering vital questions more in their ethical than their religious bearings, devoted the afternoon of May 31st., to the discussion of Nationalism and other social reforms. It opened with an address by Edward Bellamy, most sympathetically introduced by the chairman, Colonel Higginson. Mr. Bellamy showed plainly how the moribund state of the competitive principle must soon force us to choose between either a permanently plutocratic government, or the control by the people, through their governmental organization, of the industrial service wholly for themselves. He also showed how the people's duty toward the Nation has its converse in the Nation's duty toward the people, since industrial service is as much a necessity at all times as military service in war-time, and demands as thorough an organization. The Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, editor of *The Dawn*, following with an eloquent presentation of Christian Socialism, showed how Christianity as a practical principle in life was absolutely impossible under the present system.

William Lloyd Garrison presented the claims of the Henry Georgeists with the "Single-tax" theory. It was strange to see a Garrison defending slavery—for in his plea for the right of the strong to oppress the weak, which is implied in the perpetuation of the so-called "individualism" of the present industrial system, he argued the cause of industrial slavery with the same kind of specious reasoning that was used by the antebellum spokesmen of our Northern commercialism against the freedom-inspired eloquence of his famous father. Some of the Henry Georgeists, with the narrowness that characterizes a sect rather than a reform, seem to feel it essential to the success of their own scheme to denounce every other line of social improvement proposed. This, and the necessity of explaining the complexity of their theory with super-mathematical nicety, and then of carefully protecting its delicate mechanism against the dust of objections raised against its working in practice, promises to keep their movement conveniently small. They are alienating some of their most liberal and valuable supporters. For instance, Hugh Pentecost, after coming out ably for Nationalism, says he is surprised to be told by so many that he knows nothing about the land question.

The Rev. N. P. Gilman set forth the advantages of profit-sharing, which is excellent so far as it goes, for it is well to keep the wheels of the stage-coach well greased, even though it must inevitably give way to the locomotive. His citation of Emerson, that every man is as lazy as he dares to be, was splendidly refuted by the Rev. Frederic A. Hinckley, in his summing up of the addresses. At the festival in the evening Edwin D. Mead ably expressed his sympathy with Nationalism, and Mrs. A. M. Diaz gave a common-sense statement of the aims of the movement. Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney talked about the necessity for something which she called "individual responsibility," but left it quite in the dark as to how it was attainable, while Miss Eastman, with a profusion of beautifully-voiced phrases, spoke for Anarchy, Anarchy pure and simple, though perhaps she might have been surprised to learn it. Altogether it was a bright day for the Nationalist movement in Boston.

Unpractical Philosophy.

Dr. W. T. Harris, the eminent Hegelian, considered Nationalism adversely in his address, "The True Function of the State," before the National Woman Suffrage Association, at its meeting in Boston the evening before the above-mentioned event. In his characterization of Nationalism as "looking backward" to a primitive state of society, and therefore a retrograde movement, he took the narrow view which men who commit themselves to a system of philosophy are apt to take, by shaping their vision according to their system, and thus ignoring tendencies and events that somehow don't fit with their system. He utterly leaves out of count the evolution of nationality, in which the co-operative principle has steadily extended with the progressive development of the Nation, and he is utterly oblivious of ethnological law in general. The system of "free individuality" which Dr. Harris admires has its analogy in the state of complete savagery, when every man's hand is against every other man. And Dr. Harris appears utterly blind to the fact, generally admitted, of the actual decadence of the competitive principle. If he thinks that it ought to be maintained, then perhaps he thinks that the stability of the globe's surface ought to be maintained; but somehow continents will continue to upheave themselves. It was probably not by intention, but from superficial reading, that the Concord School philosopher mis-stated our position as a system in which the status of the individual is fixed for him, wherein he must accept external restrictions without having any part in making them. This repression of individuality is in truth precisely the practical working of the present system, where the great mass must accept the most cruel external restrictions imposed by the rules of competitive trade, so that individual freedom of action is only an illusion, the plutocracy having the supremacy; in fact, the whole social fabric being shaped for the advantage of that class. With a doctrinaire's fondness for labeling, the Concord professor forgets that the labels only apply to transitory conditions, as he postulates the "five freedoms" of Lavaleye: "Freedom to choose vocation; to labor in any part of the country one chooses; of partnership and combination; of buying and selling; and to lend money." The first two, as is known to nearly everybody, only theoretically exist under the present system and would exist ideally under the new; Freedom of association is forbidden by the present system, as witness the denial of the right to the town of Danvers by the plutocratically corrupted Massachusetts legislature; while the highest development of the associative principle would result under the new order. The other two "freedoms" are but incidental to a temporal social state, and would become atrophied; the former would be replaced by a more convenient method, while of the latter there would be no more need than a Manx cat has to use the freedom of moving its tail.

Dr. Harris also commits the common error of regarding the State as something abstract and apart, instead of the organic unity of the people. The absurdity of his statement that according to history the passage from common ownership to ownership by individuals is an ascent, needs only to be indicated by citing the enormous growth of "wealth in common," as Dr. Hale expresses it, in the shape of all manner of public institutions and services, which our civilization has correspondingly developed with the advancement of the popular welfare.

True Individuality.

Some interesting meetings to discuss National principles have been held at Springfield. At the first, Professor Clarke, of the chair of political economy at Smith College, was present. It was gratifying to see a man of his educational standing express the friendly sympathy which he did, and with the unprejudiced consideration which such a man may be expected to give, his entire conversion may be hoped for. His objection that an impracticable degree of production would be required by the realization of our ideals may be met by the fact that, under the labor-saving devices of today, the purchasing capacity of the people constitutes the only limit to production. His other objection that our system involves a loss of individuality is ably met by Mr. Bellamy in a letter to the *Springfield Republican*, in which he says: "There is no respect in which, rightly or wrongly, we claim a more striking superiority for the National plan over the present industrial system than its tendency to develop the individual tastes and aptitudes of every man and woman, and not only to furnish the freest and fullest opportunity for their exertion, but to stimulate it by making excellence, in his or her chosen occupation, the sole way to office, power, or social distinction. How such a state of society would compare with the present, in which five-sixths of the community have not enough education even to find out what their natural aptitudes are; in which the prizes of wealth are rewards, not of public service nor of any sort of merit, but of shrewdness and greed; in which power and office are the booty of the demagogue and corruptionist, I will leave it to the reader to consider. There is one view in which Nationalists may welcome attacks on their scheme, grounded on the charge that it tends to suppress individuality; for such an attack, by demonstrating that the man who makes it has not had time to find out what the scheme is, leaves ground for hope that when he shall do so he will be with us. Surely, if our doctrine, which is at once nothing different from the heart of all religions and the natural religion of the heart, be not one which only needs to be understood to be accepted, we have in vain set our hands to the mighty undertaking to which we are consecrated." In another letter, commenting on Professor Clark's remarks, Mr. Bellamy says that if individuality "be not merely another name for a desire to live on other people, if it be the instinct of a man to be himself and find a free career in the field for which he is adapted, then for such an individuality there is awaiting, under the National plan, a freedom of scope and development such as the present social anarchism never had and never could furnish. No good man and no just man will find his individuality hampered by the National plan, but the large class of men for whom jails are built, and a larger class for whom they ought to be built, will undoubtedly have much reason to complain of the new order." As "loss of individuality" is the great anti-National bugbear, these remarks are to be commended as a complete answer to that objection.

Carnegie on Wealth.

With the perversity of a blind man, who insists in starting off in the wrong direction, Andrew Carnegie begins: "The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and the poor in harmonious relationship."

This is the man with palaces in America and Scotland, whose vacation is a tour round the world, whose outing is a three months' coaching trip, and who also writes,

“And here, oh my good friends, let me say, that until a man has stood at the door and seen his own four-in-hand drive up before him, the horses, — four noble bays, — champ-ing the bits, their harness buckles glistening in the sun; the coach spick and span new and as glossy as a mirror, with the coachman on the box and the footman behind; and then, enchanted, has called to his friends ‘Come, look, there it is, just as I had pictured it!’ and has then seen them mount to their places with beaming faces — until, as I say, he has had that experience, don’t tell me that he has known the most exquisite sensation in life, for I know he hasn’t.”

But mayhap there is another Carnegie, with two rooms on the fourth story of a tenement house in Pittsburgh, whose vacation is the holiday which the State rescues for him from his three hundred and sixty-five days of toil in the rolling-mills, whose outing is a jaunt from one end to the other of the paved city, whose coach is the horse-car which he shares with fifty others? This Carnegie, putting distribution for administration, might restate the question more truly; “The problem of our age is the proper *distribution* of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may bind all together in harmonious relationship and so there shall be no longer the extravagantly rich and the beggarly poor.”

The True Moral of Johnstown.

When one dam gives way it is likely to be followed by a general bursting of dams all over the country. And a shout from some condemns the contractors for building such insecure structures, but how childish! Is it not fairer to condemn the system which makes the size of the contractor’s fortune depend on the difference between his contract price and the cheapness of his work? This it is which builds poor dams, puts marble dust into sugar, chickory into coffee, cotton into woolen goods, water into milk.

Others, in the Johnstown case, blame the club of rich men who, indeed, might have found some better way of squandering their wealth than by imitating the nobility (nobility it should be) of England: a class of hereditary spoilsmen, by the by, whose highest idea of a day’s pleasure seems to consist in the gratification of the barbaric impulse to go out and hunt and kill something for the mere gust of killing.

But it is as unjust to condemn the South Fork Fishing Club as to condemn the contractor. Condemn the system which brings to the top such thoughtless, worthless froth as English-aping Americans; and which hails as successful those who have mulcted enough from their brothers to live idly and extravagantly.

Others condemn the indifference of the inhabitants of the doomed valley to the danger which threatened them, but don’t condemn them; condemn the system which chains them to so many ills that they lose heart to try and avoid any but the one that presses the most hard.

How many operatives there are in this land of freedom who knowingly enter fire traps, every day, climb to the top of rickety buildings, eat adulterated food, live in malaria, because they must, to live at all. In the mad rush for the glittering prize they, their wives and children, are pushed to the wall and trampled under foot!

Condemn the system.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

C. F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

[Nationalists having friends in towns and cities mentioned below are requested to write and urge them to correspond with the addresses given. Others who reside in these cities and towns who are not yet affiliated with our movement, but desire to join, need have no hesitation in writing to these addresses. Thus, through this department, a vast organizing force will be set to work which we could not reach in any other way. Ed.]

MASSACHUSETTS, CAMBRIDGE, HARVARD COLLEGE. When the next term opens a Nationalist Club of twenty-five or more students will be formed in the University which will be a power for good. A temporary organization has been made.

BOSTON. The annual meeting for the election of officers, according to the Constitution of the Nationalist Club, was held on the second Wednesday in May. President Chas. E. Bowers declined a re-election, as also did the Secretary, C. F. Willard. Probably no Club ever had an officer whom it reduced to the ranks with more reluctance than our Club felt in the case of Captain Bowers. The following ticket reported by the Nominating Committee was unanimously elected: George D. Ayers, President, Miss Anne Whitney, First Vice-President, Dr. Wm. L. Faxon, Second Vice-President, John Ransom Bridge, Secretary, Miss Maud Grant, Assistant Secretary, E. I. K. Noyes, Treasurer, Ralph Cracknell, Financial Secretary. In the retirement of Captain Bowers and Mr. Willard from high official position, the Club has lost the active service of two of its most energetic members. Captain Bowers consented to serve temporarily upon the Advisory Committee. George D. Ayers, Esq., the new President, is a successful Boston lawyer, well qualified for the position to which he has been elected. He presided for the first time at a public meeting of the Club held June 12 in the rooms of the Woman's Educational Union, 98 Boylston street. Ten new members were enrolled. The President outlined briefly the purpose of Nationalism, and reviewed the spread of the principles of Nationalism since the formation of the Boston Club in December last. Mr. Hildreth delivered an address in which he pointed out the dangers of private monopolies or syndicates, and that such institutions were the primary cause of legislative corruption. The attorney of the Bay State Gas Company received especial attention for his argument against allowing towns and cities the privilege of manufacturing their gas. Several of the one hundred and fifty persons present severely criticised the Legislature of 1889, and charged that it was the most corrupt political body ever assembled in Massachusetts. The Advisory Committee of the Club was instructed to draw up a resolution denouncing, in suitable terms, the failure of the Senate to pass the bill granting cities and towns the right to manufacture gas, which bill passed the House triumphantly, and to call the attention of the people to the political corrup-

tion so prevalent at the State House during the past session of the Legislature. A letter from Edward Bellamy was read, recommending that the Club advocate the raising of the age for compulsory education to seventeen years, with thirty-five weeks schooling and support for the children of parents who would otherwise be forced to take them from school. These recommendations were unanimously adopted, and the Advisory Committee instructed to formulate the best plan for getting these ideas before the people. 110 Tremont street. JOHN R. BRIDGE, Sec'y.

LYNN. The organization of the Nationalist Club of Lynn was effected Tuesday, June 18, 1889, at the home of Mr. Wallace Osborne. The Club starts with a charter membership of fifty-three. The Declaration of Principles set forth by the Nationalist Club of Boston was adopted, and the Constitution chosen was also practically the same as that of the Boston Club. The following officers were elected: William O. Wakefield, President, George H. Cary, First Vice-President, Abel G. Curtis, Second Vice-President, Hannah M. Todd, Secretary, John W. Gibboney, Corresponding Secretary, Wallace Osborne, Treasurer, John A. O'Keefe, Esther H. Hawks, M.D., William P. Conway, Hermann Lemp, and J. H. Dwyer, Advisory Committee. The Committee on Membership (3) and the Committee on Information (5) will be appointed at a future meeting. Regular meetings will be held monthly, and officers elected semi-annually. For the present, meetings will be held weekly to facilitate the work of organization. Great interest is manifested by many in Lynn, and it is confidently expected that the membership will be large. J. W. GIBBONEY, Cor. Sec'y.

NEW YORK, ALBANY. A meeting of Nationalists was held on the 18th of June. After considerable discussion it was resolved to adjourn until the second Tuesday in September on account of so many leaving the city during the hot weather. Those who remain resolved to form themselves into a committee for propagandist work. An effort will be made to form a Nationalist library for the purpose of lending *Looking Backward* and kindred works to anyone who wishes to read them. The thanks of Nationalists are due to Mrs. H. S. Lake, of Boston, for delivering several forcible lectures on "Looking Backward," in Albany this month, besides attending and speaking at other meetings.

189 Jefferson street.

ERNEST A. NORRIS.

NEW YORK CITY. We are growing steadily and getting the very best people as members. Prominent among the latest accessions to our Club are: Gen. Abner Doubleday, a distinguished officer of the Federal army during the late civil war, and who is now our President; Miss Frances Macdaniel, a niece of Charles A. Dana; Dr. Geo. H. Everett, a well-known lecturer; C. De F. Hoxie, a leading Prohibitionist; David E. Cronin, an artist and essayist. The name of Helen Campbell, the distinguished writer, and John Lovell, the publisher, was, I believe, on the previous list.

18 East 47th street.

W. C. TEMPLE, Sec'y.

PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA. A Club is now under way in this city. It is in energetic hands and will no doubt in a short time result in as large and influential a Club as any in the country. Any person desiring to join by writing to the editor of this department will receive full information.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, PORTSMOUTH. The Club meets the first Thursday in each month during the summer. The membership is twenty-five. A Constitution and Declaration of Principles substantially same as Boston Club's has been adopted. The officers are the same as at last report, viz.. John Albee, President, R. E. Rich, Secretary, Miss Abbie L. Haven, Treasurer. They are all alive for the cause with many persons working with them who do not formally belong to the Club. The new reform is accepted here eagerly. Mr. Albee is writing a lecture on the subject. We have sold many *Looking Backwards* in this town and to men in the interior of State.

ROBT. E. RICH, Sec'y.

CONNECTICUT, HARTFORD. The present membership of the Club is thirty-seven. At the sixth regular meeting, Friday evening, June 14th, Labor Commissioner Samuel M. Hotchkiss appeared before the Club and gave a talk and answered questions concerning the Hotchkiss-Henney secret ballot bill.

P. O. Box, 83.

W. L. CHENEY, Sec'y.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, WASHINGTON. Our Club keeps up its weekly meetings at which deep interest is shown in the discussion of questions pertaining to the movement. Efforts are being made for the formation of a library, a part of which will be scrap-books containing newspaper clippings of Nationalist articles and news; these are prepared by the Committee on Information. The following are our officers: W. W. Wright, President, Maurice Pechin, Vice-President, M. A. Clancy, Secretary, Ferdinand Schmidt, Treasurer, W. H. Grigsby, Librarian. At the meeting, June 13th, a resolution was introduced by our President for the appointment of a Committee to prepare a petition to Congress to place the lighting of this city in the hands of our District Commissioners. The Washington Gas-Light Company, a private corporation, now furnishes gas at \$1.25 per thousand feet. It is estimated that it can be furnished by the city at fifty cents per thousand. The Club purposes to circulate the petition between now and the assembling of Congress, and no doubt is entertained that a sufficiently strong showing can be made to induce action. At any rate, if it fails, it will be educational in showing the people the animus of the Nationalist movement.

1426 Corcoran street.

M. A. CLANCY, Sec'y.

ILLINOIS, CHICAGO. The Chicago Club is in a very encouraging condition. On May 6th it held a meeting at the Palmer House, at which those only were admitted who had received written invitations. Between one hundred and a hundred and fifty of the members and guests were present. An address was made by the President, Mr. Jesse Cox, who stated the objects and aims of the Club, and outlined the work of Nationalism as necessarily endeavoring to so affect city governments as to take from private control some of the public services which are rapidly becoming a burden to the people. Mrs. Corinne Brown, the Secretary, read a paper on the "Relation of Women to the Nationalist Movement," and Mr. C. S. Darrow, Vice-President, made an address on the "Functions of the State in the Organization of Industry." A number of prominent people were present. The result was that thirteen applications for membership in the Club were made, some of them by persons who are quite prominent in Chicago. Information has been received by the Club of an awakening to the principles of the Nationalist movement in various parts of the country around Chicago. Mr. William H. Hoisington of

Rochelle, Ill., has been traveling to different points in Wisconsin and Illinois, speaking on the subject, and distributing copies of *Looking Backward*, and of the NATIONALIST magazine. He reports that he finds it easy to excite interest everywhere he goes, and that the people seem ripe for the movement. Similar reports come from other persons in other parts of the country about Chicago. The Club has in contemplation the inauguration of a general movement in Chicago to emancipate its citizens from the exactions of the gas trust and coal monopoly, by establishing municipal gas works, whereby the city shall furnish to its residents gas for fuel, and electric light for illumination, at cost. Mr. Robert Howe has gathered valuable data for the presentation of this subject and will read a paper at next meeting. So many persons were interested at our meeting in the Palmer House, May 6th, by the addresses there given, that the Club decided to hold bi-monthly meetings for which invitations should be issued to those known to be interested in the new economic science. In consequence of this decision the Club were called to meet at the club room of the Grand Pacific Hotel, Monday evening, June 24, to listen to an address by Adelbert Hamilton, whose late article on "Insurance" in the *Forum* has attracted so much attention; also to hear Mrs. Annie R. Weeks, President of the Anthony Club of Chicago, read a paper on the "Municipal Control of Gas-Works," and Rev. W. E. Silience, the only Christian Nationalist minister in Chicago, speak on the "Religious Aspect of Nationalism." The Club issued two hundred and fifty invitations and it was a most successful meeting.

6230 Woodlawn ave., Woodlawn Park, Ill.

CORINNE S. BROWN. Sec'y.

† This letter, from a clergyman in Illinois, we print, as a specimen of many we receive:

DEAR BROTHER

Of the greater "Brotherhood of Humanity", I will have to subscribe for the NATIONALIST most surely, if I discontinue a half dozen other publications to do so. It must be that Mr. Bellamy has hit the nail on the head this time. In a little over a month longer I shall be seventy, and my first wish was that I might have been born a hundred years later; but I am hopeful of living the century out, and there is no telling all the changes that may transpire in that time. It is very certain that there is to come some great break up. Unless all the signs of the times are provokingly deceptive, we are on the eve of most remarkable events. It would appear that the wheels of progress are all on fire with their swift turning, and the old order of things must give place to the new, or everything will fall to pieces in sheer rottenness. The swing of the pendulum to one side is what is going to bring it back to the other. Of course there will be waiting, and sore trials before the end, but I never felt so much like saying, "Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people." Yours for the cause of the oppressed, the rights of all men, and the salvation of the world.

MARYLAND, BALTIMORE. Miss Mary Foster, of the London Fabian Society, who is now in Baltimore, Md., desires to form a Club in the latter city. Her address is 401 St. Paul street, and any Baltimoreans similarly interested are invited to correspond.

MICHIGAN, MUSKEGON. W. S. Ducey, vice-president and treasurer of the Michigan Shingle Co., says that a Club with a fair membership will soon be started in this place.

MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS. The organization of a Club in this city, effected May 16, is the result of an informal meeting held three weeks earlier at the residence of Mrs. Kate Buffington Davis. The movement was initiated here by her, and to this lady's thoughtful and enthusiastic presentation of Nationalism is due, in a large measure, the present organization. At the meeting of May 16, the Constitution of the parent Club at Boston was adopted with slight modifications, also the Declarations of Principles. There were present fifteen persons, and the enthusiasm of the company was earnest and unmistakable. After the adoption of the Declaration the following officers were elected: A. S. Edwards, President, Kate Buffington Davis, Vice-President, Leroy Berrier, Secretary, M. S. Matthews, Treasurer. An Advisory Committee of three to act with the officers includes Dr. E. F. Clark, Rev. Archibald Hadden, and W. H. G. Smart. These officers will serve temporarily until the first annual election, which will probably be held in October. The marked excellence of the literature of the movement was commented upon.

KANSAS, KANSAS CITY. Lawyer Hiram J. Vrooman, 529½ Minnesota avenue, is one of the many persons greatly interested and wishes to form a Club.

INDEPENDENCE. We have just organized a "class" (we call it only this at present) to "study and circulate" *Looking Backward*. We meet every Tuesday night in the fine large double parlors of Hon. Joseph Chandler, a leading attorney of our place, brother of Judge Chandler—lately appointed First Assistant Sec'y of Interior. We have the very best social elements of our city interested, and there is every evidence of a wide movement here soon. I have been preaching a series of sermons on "The Foot-prints of the Millennium" in which I have endeavored to point out the sure signs of the "new age" coming naturally in present social growth. The vast majority of those interested here are Christians. As soon as our "class" develops a little more we shall branch out on a higher plane. *Looking Backward* is being read all over the county. The farmers are taking to it enthusiastically, and most of the rural labor papers are pushing it.

H. C. VROOMAN.

CHETOPA. J. W. Breidenthal, secretary of the Neosho Valley Investment Co., is one of the earliest pioneers of Nationalism in Kansas, and he would be glad, no doubt, to hear from other Nationalists in that State.

SOUTH HAVEN. Samuel Nutt is pushing the good work by means of the book.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY, TACOMA. Aubin G. G. Locke, of 1305 Pacific avenue, desires to form a Club in that city. He says: "We have a young progressive country about to bud into Statehood. It would be desirable to impress our ideas on the coming constitution of that State." All Nationalists having friends in Tacoma will aid the cause by getting them to correspond with him.

CALIFORNIA, OAKLAND. The Oakland Club has grown steadily since formation and now has more than sixty active members. The Club rooms are kept open day and evening and the Librarian is always there. The Club also has a public discussion every Monday evening in the lecture-rooms at Snell Seminary, and a free lecture once each month by some one of known standing, capable of explaining in detail the ultimate of Nationalism.

STEPS ON THE ROAD.

The growth of Nationalism can best be forwarded by the most practical action on the part of Nationalists. We must encourage every tendency in that direction, and bear in mind that the movement can only advance step by step. We must not be impatient to see final result, we can find our reward in considering that every step brings us nearer and nearer the desired end. When a fresh step is taken by the public, and it is seen that it is a good and profitable one, it will be an object lesson to make the people ready for the next step. The movement will soon be accelerated to a rate fast enough for any of us. Only undue haste can retard it.

The first steps were taken ages ago; decisive steps were taken when nations established postal service; when municipalities took their own highways in charge and began to supply their inhabitants with pure water led into their houses. We have only to keep on in the direction thus indicated. The work lying next at hand is

IN THE NATION: To add the telegraph, the telephone and the express business to the postal service; to enlarge and perfect statistical work of governmental bureaus so as to receive the most frequent, full and accurate reports of the situation in all industries; to Nationalize the great highways of the country, the railways; to increase the efficiency, training and scope of the civil service, which is the present basis of the industrial army.

IN MUNICIPALITIES: To establish public water, gas, and electric-light works; to make the street-railways municipal property; to work for general State laws permitting municipalities to assume these functions without special legislation and ultimately forbidding them to be exercised by private corporations; to make the municipality the most effective instrument possible for doing everything that can be done co-operatively for the welfare of the community, such as the establishment of public parks, libraries, art-galleries, baths, laundries, physical training in schools and for adults, amusements, offices for insurance against loss by fire, accident, etc.

It should be borne in mind that all of the above-mentioned steps, both national and municipal, have already been successfully taken in various parts of the world, and that their practicability and beneficence is therefore already a matter of fact, not theory.

Indianapolis has taken a decided step in the right direction with its Gas Consumers Trust, organized with voluntary contributions from 6,000 citizens, furnishing natural gas for fuel at rates limited by law; after the extinction of indebtedness and the reimbursement of contributors with interest, the public is to be supplied simply at the cost of maintaining the plant.

St. Paul, Minnesota, will probably soon have a public street-car service. Legislative authority has been obtained authorizing the city of St. Paul to issue \$1,500,000 in bonds to buy up the lines, subject to the popular approval at a special election. The city claims already the right to make a compulsory purchase.

The establishing of a natural gas plant by the city of Toledo, Ohio, has been decided to be constitutional much to the chagrin of the Standard Oil Company.

REVIEWS.

[We will gladly notice in brief all books sent us. Books bearing on economic or social questions we will review as extensively as our space permits.]

PRISONERS OF POVERTY ABROAD.

Any book by Helen Campbell is worth reading more than once, and this, her latest contribution to literature, although a series of studies among foreign workers, has a powerful bearing on the lives of our working men and women. Published by Roberts Bros., Boston.

HIGHER GROUND, OR HINTS TOWARDS SETTLING LABOR TROUBLES,

By Augustus Jacobson, comes to us exquisitely printed from A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. Beautifully terse and clear in style, this book is one which ought to be in the library of every student of economics. We shall review it at full length in a future number of the NATIONALIST.

We have received from A. C. Kihn, Dealer, 298 Jay street, Brooklyn, N. Y., a fine etching of the great German philosopher, Karl Marx. All admirers of that profound thinker will be glad to know where they can get an artistic likeness of him at a moderate price.

We have received a large tinted photolithograph of the different buildings, seals of secret societies of Harvard College, etc., at the top of which is an excellent profile of President Eliot. This delicate work of art is for sale by the artist, Louis Papanti, 23 Pemberton square, suite D, Boston.

FRATERNITY.

A romance. Harper Bros.,
New York.

ARIUS, THE LIBYAN.

A romance. D. Appleton & Co.,
Boston.

TO BE REVIEWED

IN

AUGUST NATIONALIST.

George W. Dempsey, one of the original members of the Nationalist Club of Boston, died of consumption at Middleboro', Mass., on the 10th of June, aged 20 years, 6 months, and 2 days. He was a reporter for the *Brockton Gazette* when illness compelled him to cease work. Modest and cheerful in his demeanor, he was well liked by the older as well as the younger members of the Boston Club.

No. 4.

HOOD

FIFTH EDITION.

Vol. 1.

No. 4.

“THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY.” — *Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*



THE

NATIONALIST

AUGUST, 1889.

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Nationalism and Christianity *Rev. W. D. P. Bliss*

Public Administration the Condition of Liberty *Thaddeus B. Wakeman*

The Message (Poem) *M. H. Ford*

A Workingman's View of Nationalism *Michael Lynch*

Catching the Train *Abby Morton Diaz*

A Nationalist's Ramble Among the Magazines *J. F. Biscoe*

The Voice of Madison *Prof. Daniel De Leon*

Editorial Notes. — A PRACTICAL RESULT OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. — SINGLE-TAX ANARCHISM. — POSTAL EXPRESS. — APOLOGISTS FOR EXISTING ABUSES. — WHY NOT TRY A CHANGE OF ENVIRONMENT? — A COMMON NEWSPAPER ERROR.

News of the Movement

Monopolies of Municipal Service (The Gas Dragon) *Arthur Hildreth*

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

The combinations, trusts and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organized—the organic unity of the whole people.

The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces: it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest: for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we make our best efforts.

THE NATIONALIST.

VOL. I.

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NATIONALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

When Jesus Christ was confronted by Phariseism with the political question as to the lawfulness of giving tribute to Cæsar, or not, He did not immediately answer; He did not categorically answer the question at all; He did not assume a fixed position and say "This is Christianity and all who would follow Me must hold to this"; He rather went back of the immediate question: He referred to the basic, underlying principle; He appealed to essential righteousness; He put himself upon the ground of eternal justice; He said: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's"

This was ever Christ's position; Christian righteousness was not distinct from any other righteousness. Asked to adjudicate in a matter of entail and inheritance, He said: "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" He came not to inculcate a new righteousness; He came to fulfil the old. Even His new commandment was not a new commandment, but a new command, a re-issuing of old orders. There is, therefore, no distinctively Christian righteousness. Right is right in Heaven, in Jerusalem, in Boston, in Samoa. Right is not right because Christ taught it; Christ is Christ because He voiced the Right.

Is it necessary to add that Christ's refusal to decide definite questions did not arise from fear or a spirit of diplomacy? Certain commentators have made this necessary; they naively talk of Christ's skill in parrying questions, avoiding taking sides on vexed issues, as in the above instance, in avoiding declaring for or against Cæsar. It is to be feared that such commentators read into Christ's words the spirit they find only too often in modern Christianity. Christ was not an artful dodger; He was not a diplomat; to give no offence, to avoid every practical question, this was not Christianity according to Christ. In this instance, He called His questioners hypocrites; "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees," how often we

read the words; Christ seems to have been most severe upon the rich, the religious (outwardly so), and lawyers, but He feared not to condemn all; the poor, the educated, his own disciples; Christ rebuked them all. He accepted a rich man's hospitality and rebuked him under his own roof (we should call that impolite to day, and it was, until you remember that it was true kindness, true courtesy according to the court of Heaven): surely Christ was not a mere consulter of men's feelings.

But He refused to range Himself with any party; He drew up no set of definite rules and regulations; He refused to be a court of probate, a digest of decisions; we have the code Napoleon; there is no code according to Jesus Christ. His meat and drink it was to do the Father's will. To do right is the moral code of Christianity.

"Nationalism and Christianity" then become but a question of Nationalism and Righteousness. We do not need a verse from the Gospels commanding men to join a Nationalist club. If right is on its side, we may be sure Christ is there. We may not be sure that if Christ were on earth, to-day, He would call Himself a Nationalist. If anything, we believe, He would prefer the name of Socialist, that being the more unpopular name. But Christ cared little for names. We are not sure that He would even call Himself a Christian. But we are very sure that He would *be* one; and He would not be afraid to advocate true Christianity. So with Nationalism: if it be true, we may be very sure that if Christ were here on earth He would be a Nationalist and would not fail to advocate it.

It all comes back therefore to the simple question: is Nationalism wise and right and true? We believe that it is. But in this paper we would not enter into this; and we content ourselves with pointing out a few quotations from the New Testament, not as authority for the truth, but as voicing those great principles of truth which lie, voiced or unvoiced, in every man. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbor's good." "We are members one of another." These and many like these are verses that express the mind of Christ: can they by any sort of exegesis be twisted into approval of the individualism and self-seeking and self-push of modern business? "Each man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost;" can this verse be found, or could it by any possibility occur in the Sermon on the Mount?

But because of this, asks the doubter, does it follow that Nationalism is true? Because we are to bear one another's burdens, are we of necessity

to throw off our burdens upon Uncle Sam? No; and Nationalism is not throwing off our burdens upon Uncle Sam. Nationalism is not paternalism; it is not laziness. Nationalists would not have everybody be supported by the government; they would have everybody *be* the government. They believe in government, but in self-government; they believe in rule, but in self-rule; and this distinction must ever be remembered. Merely to extend government might be, and in the case of most modern governments, would be, merely to extend tyranny and to develop slavery. No intimate acquaintance of Uncle Sam, however we may admire his essential and inner characteristics, can be very enthusiastic about extending his powers in his present state of development; but this is not Nationalism. Nationalism is "to nationalize industry and thereby to promote the brotherhood of humanity," that is, only to nationalize industry so far as this shall promote human brotherhood. Government therefore must only be extended so far as it be not a paternalism, but a brotherhood truly democratic. And this pledges Nationalists to many things. Every Nationalist must strive for Ballot Reform, for a radical and thorough Civil Service Reform, a true one, not a sham one. Hand in hand with extension of government must go reform in government. And under Nationalism these will inevitably develop together. Just so far as men become Nationalists, just so far as they come to conceive of government as the organic unity of a people organized to do the complete business of the people, just so far will they of necessity cease to think of it as a fond old uncle, existing mainly to be wheedled into bounties of candy and pin money or to be a resource and protection against the workings of strict justice. No Nationalist who realizes that government is the business corporation to which he belongs can ever sell his ballot or endorse political corruption.

Nationalism means essentially the application of ethics and equity through government to business. Its development means the development of righteousness in social order. And righteousness *is* Christianity. A man was asked if he believed in Christianity; his answer was that he should first like to see it tried. Nationalists think that they too would like for once to see Christianity tried.

W. D. P. BLISS.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: THE CONDITION OF LIBERTY.

The glories of our Centennial are over. It is now the proper time to consider the equities, which are really our national strength and capital, and the prospects which they justify.

Is not much of our centennial exultation premature? The lessons of History should at least make us thoughtful. The first century is but the first year of a Nation's life. The Republic, instead of being out of the woods, has only begun to track its way. At its birth the example and prophecy against its success came from Greece, Rome, Italy, Germany, Holland, France and England. Macaulay and other historians have ever since continued to point out that a Democratic Republic has never been, and can never be, more than a transitional form of society and government. Switzerland remains the only exception, because exceptional conditions of simplicity and equality have there alone continued possible Milton's "Mountain Nymph, Sweet Liberty."

During the first fifty years of our national life similar conditions of equality and simplicity enabled the republic to grow in democracy. But a portentous change has come over our country. From 1789 to 1850 or thereabouts, tolerable industry and prudence could make the conditions of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, possible to the masses of the people. The land was then obtainable upon which a livelihood could be gained by simple tools and stock. The trades, merchandising and the professions were open to those who would pursue them with a reasonable hope of success. The great triumph of our Fathers was in the acquisition of political independence and liberty which rendered this free and equal access to the means of life safe and enjoyable. The mass of the people were then agriculturists, and upon them the social, political and financial growth of the country rested. Daniel Webster, for instance, touchingly describes the simple way in which his father tilled with his own hands the lands he had settled upon, and there reared a family, typical of the great mass of the sturdy Americans who founded and ordered this Republic and carried it through the war of 1812, the secession talk of 1830, the Mexican war of 1848, and ended chattel slavery by the war of 1861.

But these first two generations and their conditions are gone, never to return. Men are now, indeed, equal as to their necessities of life, food,

raiment, shelter, and a career of activity. But one can now rarely go alone to the land, or to a trade, to obtain by honest labor support for himself and family. He must in Burns' phrase "beg a brother of the earth to give him leave to toil," and that brother is not only a landlord, but a new, a third, and an inevitable factor in his existence. That modern Fate, the terror or the blessing of mankind, is summed up in the one word, CAPITAL. Its fatal omnipotence in America is of recent date, but within the last twenty years it has increased in quantity and power by such astonishing strides and become so centered in a few hands, that it is a serious question whether the Republic has not already been unconsciously, but hopelessly, merged into a permanent Plutocracy.

Even the blindest cannot fail to see that the means of living are not as they were. The conditions of production and distribution seem to have passed from the individual and the many forever. This has resulted from the progress of civilization, which compels the centralization of capital, to increase its productiveness. To illustrate: the available land has been taken up, or granted to Monopolists, until there are few more Oklahomas to be opened. Still more decisive is the fact that successful cultivation of land is only possible with capital and on large farms. Henry George tried to question this, but in the *Country Gentleman* (May 16, p. 383) we read the truth thus: "It is a great mistake to suppose that with the universal use of the mower, automatic winder and thresher, the triumph of farm machinery has reached its climax. The corn crop will be harvested, stalks and leaves shredded and stored, all by machinery, and even barn chores will be performed by the aid of automatic contrivances to a considerable extent. Already, horses are curried by machinery, and a patent has been applied for on a device for cleaning stables. The tendency is towards greater capitalization of farming, more expensive plants of farm machinery and buildings, and, *of course*, larger farms."

This process has already extended so far that our agricultural people, represented by Webster's father, for instance, are no longer the foundation of our country. They have been overgrown or expropriated. In social, political and financial importance they have dropped to the rear, where they barely contrive to exist. In a word the *foundation* of our country has been changed, forever. It no longer rests upon the soil and its free, equal and simple cultivation. It rests upon those who hold the capital, or wholesale means, by which only, the soil can be profitably held and cultivated, and its products transported, distributed and *cashéd*.

The same result is evident in manufacturing. Expensive machinery and capital are here the indispensable agents of all production. The family used to build its home, raise its food, weave its raiment, carry its products to market ; either by itself, or by exchange of labor or products with equally dependent and independent neighbors, who might be also tradesmen or carriers. But all that is a dream of the past.

A similar centralization is even more manifest in commerce and transportation. Cornelius Vanderbilt no longer raises sail to carry his products and passengers from Staten Island to New York : but his capitalized monopoly controls the transportation of the continent ; while Jay Gould holds all its telegraph wires in his single hand. There is and can be no competition, except as a larger monopoly crushes the smaller.

Thus, in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, (the chief means of production and the chief conditions of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,) the permanent change has come which leaves the individual and family practically helpless before capital which is consolidated in corporations, or "bodies corporate," which "have no souls" but which never die. We have founded an Industrial Feudal System, which takes all by usury or extortion.

There is no disguising the fact that the monopolists of the capital of the people and the nation are substantially the owners and masters of both. That result is inevitable, and every year will make it plainer. The Plutocratic Oligarchy is here ; the question is ; Shall it be permanently accepted, installed and consecrated in the place or control of the Republic? If not, what is the alternative?

The line of evolution points to the one method by which popular liberty and high civilization may guarantee and support, instead of destroying each other : that is, by a public administration of the conditions of life, so that they may be assured and open to all, and monopolized by no one. Capital must be under the collective control *to that extent*, because it is the indispensable means and condition of a civilized life. A public administration of capital *to that extent* is therefore the only condition of the continuance for any great length of time of our liberty and of our Republic. This remedy is unmistakably indicated by the line of social evolution. As in following that line, our Fathers could only achieve liberty by retiring the Oligarchs and Kings from supremacy in war and politics, so now their sons can only preserve that liberty by retiring the money and industrial Kings and Barons, by the same means, viz., by a public administration of, for and by the people, of the common means of their life and welfare.

The necessity of this change is increased by the manifest fact that our civilization and comfort demand a vast increase of this wealth, which no oligarchy can really gain or safely hold and administer. It would be absurd to carry on a war by guerilla chiefs, or individual enterprise, and yet expect a high civilization. So, in the far greater and continuous industrial and productive war against the resources of nature, until its management and results become the concern of the whole community, what can be expected but usurpation, tyranny, extortion, cruelty, waste, poverty, slavery and misery? The failure of our growing civilization arises chiefly from carrying on its productive warfare, upon which we are dependent more and more, by the anarchy of thousands of competitive guerillas, who regard all they get as their own, and who can only partially succeed by immense waste, and often by destroying each other. The only wonder is that the world gets on as well as it does, and not that there is an "east side" to London and New York. The conclusion is inevitable, that as capital has now become the condition of the welfare, civilization and liberty of the people, it must be under their control for their common benefit, or they must be practically the dependents, serfs and slaves of those who have that control.

When the Romans were excluded from their lands and became unequal dependents, Rome, exhausted by usury, became a Plutocracy, then an Oligarchy, then an Empire. Similar results will always follow similar conditions. So clear is this conclusion, that from Plato down, the wisest of every age have told us how liberty was conditional upon the substantial equality of all, not only before the law, but before the conditions of life. Of course, the monopolists and their political economists, authors, editors and political dependents naturally think that what is for their benefit is best and should always be, according to Rob Roy ;

"For why?—because the good old rule

Sufficeth them, the simple plan,

That they should take who have the power,

And they should keep who can."

This is all natural enough for our industrial Rob Roys, but the surprise is to find Mr. Herbert Spencer, the boasted Philosopher of Evolution, apparently refusing to evolute beyond that which is. But like Agassiz among Naturalists he is a Balaam among Sociologists. He goes out to curse the friends of Progress and Humanity, and his laws and very words become their blessing. His "Coming Slavery," as he calls socialism, is not only answered by Prof. Huxley's "Administrative Nihilism," which can never be

read enough ; but it shows how easily the objections to public administration are removed by his own law of evolution. According to that law, Progress is always a higher integration attended by an increasing differentiation and freedom of the individual parts of the organism. Thus, as in the Political, so in the Industrial Republic, slavery can be avoided only by the protection which All gives to Each. Mr. Spencer's objections lie only against state socialism in countries where political freedom has not yet been attained. He has written for the European market, and his best answer is found in his friend, Mr. John Fiske's book, "The American Idea In Politics." By achieving political liberty, our Fathers made industrial liberty possible.

As the world stands now, the United States of America furnishes the best people and form of government for the extension of public administration, without danger of increasing the despotism over the people. There can be no slavery from it, when the government is the consent of the governed, the instrument of, and always subject to the people. Where the slave controls the master, there is no slavery, nor even a "Paternal Government," but a co-operative partnership of equals, working out the interest of each by the aid of all. Again, as John Fiske shows, the division of powers under our national, state and local governments, all proceeding from the same people, is the security of our political liberty. So would it be of our industrial welfare and liberty : each would check and supplement the other and balance all, for the same people would contrive all.

The general affairs, like interstate and international transportation and commerce, would go to the care of National government. The holding and cultivation of the land and manufacturing would fall chiefly to the State governments. The local affairs to the counties, cities and towns. While the general control of all would be by the people through their Congress and general government by equal laws, administered by Departments of Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce. Thus, gradually, from year to year, as necessity required, the transition would be made.

Mr. Spencer's "Coming Slavery" is much used by capitalists as a sort of bugaboo, to keep the people fearful of any change, however gradual. But the laws of evolution, and conditions of American freedom, effectively put it to rest on this side of the Atlantic. That the conditions of American freedom have already been seriously threatened under the influence of capital, we have pointed out. But they yet remain, and in the next number of this Magazine we hope to show the means by which political action may

be still used by the people, in aid of public industrial administration. But politics will not avail without a motive power. The greatness of the object to be attained and its necessity, if the Republic is to live, admonishes that little can be done effectively, unless the moral sense of the people is aroused against industrial, serf and wage slavery, as it was against the far lesser evils of chattel slavery. This moral sense slumbered in regard to that evil until its consequences were upon us in a fearful war—the necessity of which was a disgrace to our age and our statesmanship. A still greater disgrace will it be, if in the age of evolution, we again smother the sense of liberty, right and justice, until an industrial revolution is forced upon us, in order to save our Republic from another oligarchy, seeking to make it the instrument of its greed and power.

THADDEUS B. WAKEMAN.

THE MESSAGE.

A rose-tree grows by my window and roses fine and fair
Are flaunting and smiling gaily, a-bloom in the sunshine there.

I'll pluck me a bud all gently, unfolding its beauty pale,
And breathe in its heart a message: could ever such herald fail?

Its fragrance I'll steep with passion, its petals write o'er with love,
And give to its freshness meanings, caught from the stars above.

I'll whisper it all the story of things I can never say,
Of eyes that strange fires have lighted — fires of eternal ray!

But what will she say, when softly she fingers the fragrant toy?
Ah! lady, so loved and longed for, will she fancy my secret joy?

Then speed thee, my little rose-bud, fly swift to my lady fair,
And lose not thy fragrance, flying, though thou must in her bosom rare.

M. H. FORD.

A WORKINGMAN'S VIEW OF NATIONALISM!

To be born in a crowded and, perhaps, filthy tenement house; to run the gauntlet of a thousand ills during infancy; to suffer the pains and, even to a child, the ignominy of poverty; to be scantily educated and turned out into the world as a bread-winner for the family, at an age when the children of those more fortunate are but just leaving the nursery; to be compelled to labor at something not of your own choosing and, perhaps, distasteful to you; to marry and to beget children; to still live in poorly furnished and ill ventilated apartments; to struggle on through long years, sometimes years of panic when work is scarcely to be had at any price; to walk the streets idly in the winter time when your expenses are greatest; and then just when you become perfected in your trade, when your skill should make you a more valuable man than ever, to feel your sight grow dim, your limbs stiffen, your strength fail and be cast aside as useless; to see the long years of your labor wasted for a mere subsistence; to drag on by hook or by crook a few years more of hopeless struggle and discontent, or perhaps, if you are so fortunate, to live on the charity of poverty-stricken, or grudging children; finally, to have the grave close over you, leaving others as luckless to strive on as hopelessly.

This is the life of the workingman, not the unskilled laborer alone, but of the mechanic. And for the woman, his sister, there is no change save that her education is poorer, her toil begins earlier and is more confined, and her wages are pitifully smaller. Besides, though it is her lot to be beset with every temptation, she finds that an unwedded life, no matter how blameless, is rewarded by the scarcely concealed contempt of those about her. I will not dwell on her case: I wish to write calmly.

To be often friendless and sometimes homeless, in sickness to go to the hospital, in want to the poorhouse, and always to be condemned to a life of the most aggravating frugality in order that old age may be deprived of some of its terrors, or that in the end, when all is over, a pauper's grave may be escaped. This is poverty: not that decent poverty which, borne uncomplainingly, rendered the last years of Milton's life so illustrious, but a poverty that in spite of ourselves brings us in contact with actual want, squalor, filth, drunkenness, quarreling, undesirable neighbors, and the thousand and one horrors of the modern tenement house. Nor does it soothe the mind, struggling with the miseries of such a situation, to know that some have sought to escape them by the deeper misery of dissipation;

or to know that there are light-hearted creatures who, hoping for the morrow, pass carelessly through the troubles of today ; or that some more fortunate than their fellows have found easier situations, better pay and more constant work, or else by the simple exercise of an extraordinary economy have acquired that, which with their habits, will be a competency ; or that some beings gifted with genius or great talent have sprung from the ranks of the toilers and grown great in literature, the arts, or the learned professions.

Now though, as has happened, some few, by shrewd and unscrupulous trading in the labor of their brethren, have accumulated great fortunes, what is all this to the vast majority of us who are not geniuses, nor have the leisure even if we had the inclination for much study? Most men can save but little, nor, even if we would, could we all grow rich. It is something else therefore that we want, some way of escaping from this haphazard life, some means by which the average man will not be overworked ; something that will give to him all the necessities of life, and — am I too bold? — something of its luxuries.

But it may be said that remedies for all these ills are near at hand, — so there are, lots of them. We are asked to look alone to Christ, to place our dependence on Labor Unions, or even to seek salvation solely from the use of the ballot, and with these come a score of other things warranted to cure. But when the disease is so serious are these things remedies? Are they not rather nostrums offered by quacks, — quacks clerical and quacks political, — who desire not so much our relief as their own present gain?

I who am a Christian have nothing to say against the teachings of Christ, nor do they need my approval to testify to their efficacy. But their observance is merely voluntary, not binding on any one save the few that possess an active conscience, and it is *something binding on all* which I desire. Besides, I have noticed that there is a vast difference between the teachings of Christ and the teachings of most of His expounders. For instance, if I murmur at my poverty, they quote these words of the Master : “ For the poor ye have always with ye,” as if in uttering these words, He approved of poverty as the natural and just condition of the majority of men ; and if I retort with : “ Verily I say, that it is harder for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle,” they instantly enter into a long description of a somewhat hypothetical gate in the city of Jerusalem

called the "Needle's Eye." And if I am still not satisfied either by their application of one sentence, or their explanation of the other, they depart bidding me put my trust in God. But I remember what an old lady once said to a clergyman who had refused her a small donation, "Well! what am I going to do?" "Put your trust in God and He will not fail you," said the clergyman. "But, Father," she replied, "during the famine in Ireland I saw thousands of my neighbors suffering every sort of want and misery. They all believed and trusted in God, but the most of them starved to death."

Yet if there is little hope for the people in a merely voluntary and not all-binding system of Christianity, how much less may be expected from the Trade Unions of the present or the future? That they have done good I will not deny: that they will continue to do good I hope and believe, but the good they have done has been for a minority. For the mass of the working people, those who have no trade, for the unskilful, for the most hopeless of all, those who live by delving at the soil—what have they done for them? And how much for the working woman? Is there one sensible man who believes that they will ever reach down to the lowest level of the toilers and, embracing all, work permanent good for all? *And this is the test.* If they do not, then will they fail to accomplish that which must be accomplished unless they would acknowledge themselves failures. And since they wish but to defend themselves against the encroachments of the employers and not to destroy the system that demands employers; since they have no warfare with rent, profit, or interest; since they wish not to do away with competition or contract; since they are always willing to work for mere wages, I must confess that I have but little faith in the promises of Trade Unionists. And I think that very few of their organizations are capable of withstanding three consecutive dull seasons. Then, too, it demands an extreme faith to believe that all the people will for all time continue to give unfaltering support to any such voluntary system. If they do, then will humanity show itself capable of a discipline such as the world has never known. And it certainly seems that half the effort spent in another direction could accomplish vastly more.

But there remains the ballot as a cure-all, and indeed the ballot might be used so as to be all powerful, but our advisers would confine our use of it. They tell us we must do nothing rash, seek to overturn nothing and change no systems: make haste slowly and leave everything as it is: only we must vote for honest men, demand an economical administration, or, at the

most, if we must have a special remedy for any little evils that afflict us, let it be free trade, or protection, or prohibition.

Therefore, since to me all these remedies seem inefficient, it behooves that I should look for something else. This, I think, I have found in Socialism, or rather in that more radical and perfect form of it known as Nationalism. I don't know how it may look to others, but to me there seems nothing Utopian in a desire to place all upon an equality of opportunities, of needs, and of rewards. Such a true equality would teach men in time a wise use of the ballot, would extend that unity and discipline which Trades Unionists sigh for; and being based upon the golden rule of Christianity would go more than half way to make that rule a ruling thing. I think, too, the logic of events leads up to it. Either that, or a more degraded form of slavery than any the world has yet witnessed, must be the result of the present mad scramble for wealth. There is no escape.

So, as one who desires to benefit my fellows and to be benefited in return. I cast my lot with those who promise the only reasonable means by which to change the present system; a system that encourages universal struggle and warfare betwixt man and man instead of peace and harmony between all men; a system that preaches a common humanity, yet cherishes every distinction of race, of color, and of creed; that in most countries professes the equality of men, yet is everywhere founded upon inequality; that enables one man to live in luxury and deprive another of the necessities of life; that pretends to exalt poverty, but constantly canonizes wealth; that claims to honor labor, but has never yet honored the laborer; that extols Christ's teachings, but constantly disobeys them; that pretends to hold sacred the purity of the family, yet blushes not to behold in every populous town the thousands on thousands of prostitutes whom it has manufactured; that teaches us to be chivalrous towards the weak and unfortunate, yet does not disdain to rob and oppress them systematically; a system that will call a man a boor who will not give up to a woman his seat in the car, yet has no word of condemnation for the same man when he compels perhaps the very same woman to stand up all day behind a counter or beside a loom; a system, in short, that has filled the world with ruin and rapine, and will continue to do so, until, I trust in no distant future, unable to exist longer on account of its crimes, it will pass slowly away, giving place to that better life so nobly foretold in the prophetic pages of *Looking Backward*.

MICHAEL LYNCH.

CATCHING THE TRAIN.

ARRIVING PASSENGER. — Hullo, is that you? Stand, and deliver!

DEPARTING PASSENGER. — Deliver what? My samples?

A. P. — Yes; samples of answers to my objections. Is it possible you've become a moonshiny Nationalist? Do you mean to give us all over, heart, soul and body and property to the tender mercies of the government? Crush out all our individuality? Change human nature? Support all the lazy ones? Make all share and share alike? Have the laboring classes go to college and the educated ones do handiwork? And competition? Is there to be no competition? How's a fellow going to make anything of himself, or his business either, without competition? Competition? Why, competition's the soul of trade!

D. P. — Too many objections for fifteen minutes answering. Now listen while I tell you that the reason of the opposition shown is that many are so shortsighted as to put close together two things which never can and never will be brought together; an idea and its fulfilment. It has always been so. In the case of any proposed new plan, or system, those hearing it imagine it as existing under the now present conditions. There was opposition to the steam railway system. It did not fit in at all with the stage-coach conditions, but increase of population, new methods, new forces applied in industries and in mechanical appliances, wrought changes, and look how well the steam travel system fits into the changed conditions and how quietly stage-coach travel slipped out with the old ones. Or, look back a few hundred years to the time when fighting was the prevailing occupation, when brute force ruled, when for each day and hour might made right, when life was safe only in the walled town or moated castle, when quarrels were settled by hand to hand fights, or by clan fights, or champion fights. How would those old cattle raiders and castle defenders have received a proposition to settle matters by law courts and jury decisions? Since those times — don't you see? — brute force has been gradually giving way to mind force and the changed system of settlement fits in all right with the changed conditions. I don't wonder that you recoil at the idea of having the people and all their affairs under government control, thinking, as you probably are, how, under the present system personal ambition, for personal ends, seeks place or power and gets them; how corruption of politics is depicted — and often illustrated — by politicians themselves; or how our poor voters must puzzle in deciding which

is the least bad of the candidates. But no one proposes that a government thus constituted shall be entrusted with the contemplated duties and powers. Do you suppose we mean to put our new wine into these old bottles? Our new cloth upon this old garment? Not at all. Nor need you suppose that we intend abrupt changes. A movement like this must proceed gradually and by its own impetus. No force is to be applied other than the force of thought shaped into public opinion. The duty of the present hour is to so apply this force as to change present conditions by means of a sufficiently enlightened public opinion. This will be done through our special newspapers, THE NATIONALIST and *Dawn*, and the press in general; by lectures and parlor talks, and by regular classes in Christian, social, and political economics—There's my train pushing in! But never mind a good seat, I must stop to say just this; how does the world ever expect to progress, if it insists that every new plan shall fit into present conditions and that those are fixed and final? Now, good evening.

A. P. (*calling after him.*)—But you haven't said a word about individuality, or changing human nature, or about competition. Competition is what I especially want to hear all about.

D. P. (*calling back.*)—Wait till another time. Can't stop now. Too much competition in my next place. These two trains often give us this chance of—

A. P. (*meditatively.*)—This makes me think of what that other fellow said in the cars. "Don't you see," said he, talking about the beginning of things and this "period" and that "period," and so on. "Don't you see," said he, "that everything's in a state of *becoming*, and that what's the matter with the world is that it won't fall into line with the universe?"—meaning the world of mankind. Well, "Don't be backward in coming forward" as the minister said at the conference meeting, sounds dull,—but 'tis Bible all the same, and hymn-book too. "Forgetting the things which are behind and pressing forward to the things which are before."

"Forget the steps already trod
And onward urge thy way."

But plenty of religious people, and of other kinds too, object, and help put down the brakes. How's a fellow with only a common school education to know what to believe? Anyway, I'll look out *again* for that smart talking drummer's train and hear what he has to say about competition.

ABBY MORTON DIAZ.

A NATIONALIST'S RAMBLE AMONG THE MAGAZINES.

Whether trenchant Elizabeth Stuart Phelps or some moss-backed reviewer in a mummified English Quarterly, writing on modern society, touches upon its economic relations, it is to condemn and demand a change. The suffering spirit of humanity stands behind the chair and compels the pen to write, 'Something is wrong.' The novelist, the poet, the essayist, the preacher and the dramatist, each graphically pictures the situation, though often without attempting to suggest a remedy; in the light of their words, it becomes clear that no corner of life, even the most sheltered, can escape the blighting effects of our modern mis-organization.

Writers who essay to answer the question, "Why is Marriage a Failure?"

Who is to point to industrial inequality, the struggle for a living, blame? and the greed for money as ever present stumbling blocks to happy wedded life. There is a pathetic warning in these pregnant sentences; "Even in the great obscure, unpublished mass of people to whom he, (the American *per se*), belongs, it is true that the greed for riches which is debasing and vulgarizing our whole life, makes many marriages unhappy which first were based on the purest affection": and of marrying for money or for a home; "How many women sell themselves in both these ways and then wonder that they are not happy, and therefore revile marriage." And to the husband marriage means that "bread and butter are to be made, rents paid and something put by for his wife, should 'anything happen to him.' That 'anything' has new dreads for him in view of the hostage he has given to fortune." The battle for place is severe for all, but for a married man the disaster of defeat is heart-rending. What wonder that statistics show a startling increase in the proportion of those who remain single. If a man is fighting the battle of life single-handed his spirit is too heavily laden with cares and rebuffs, with poverty and struggle to burden another with his load. If middle life finds him at last a victor, then the day is too far gone to start in companionship the journey of life. Such is one tragedy with which industrial competition is cursing humanity. The effect this competitive struggle has upon the relative number of widows and widowers is curious.

In England there are about 1,400,000 widows, and 600,000 widowers.

Excess of widows
over
widowers. No wonder the traditional English widow is scheming. The writer furnishing these figures makes this comment: "As long as women do not submit to the fate which weighs on their nat-

ural mates or companions, but marry men old enough to be their fathers, grandfathers or great-grandfathers (often widowers), from unwillingness to face the battle of life, or from love of ease and show, so long will there be a gross inequality between the number of widows and widowers." Those who are laboring to promote moral purity, who are alarmed at the unwillingness of the young to marry, would do well to consider whether their efforts at reform would not be more effective if directed not to preaching morality and the sacredness of the family, but to the removal of the present uncertainty of obtaining a livelihood and to tearing down that wall of inequality in material possessions which are artificial but are none the less real, every day impediments to marriage and the creation of homes among the masses.

This growing cancer of material inequality is eating out not only those vital organs of our social structure, marriage and the home, but it is polluting the church. Three centuries ago, before the era of commercialism began, all were equal when once they passed through the porch into the temple: but today it has been seized by the well-to-do and made subject to their behest. They still use the divine scales, but these have been so tampered with that a well-filled pocket book will tip to the beam moral or spiritual dignity. It is childish to rail at the church for this. Such a course is legitimate for the church as long as it must attract financial as well as spiritual supporters. The root of the evil is the inequality of condition which it has to recognize as do all other voluntary organizations seeking financial aid. For the very reason that the influence of the church is the most far-reaching of any voluntary institution, it has become true that, "In no department of American life is the power of money greater than in the churches"

I cannot forbear quoting from the brave article by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps on the Christianity of Christ: "Christ was the educated and sanctified socialist. He was the consistent democrat. He was the consecrated agitator. Social rank simply did not exist for him. He denounced the fashionable shams of his times with the *nonchalance* of an emperor and the intelligence of an artisan. He scathed the petty pretensions of the leaders of society with that indifference to criticism characteristic of high birth, and that sympathy with what we call the 'lower classes' incident to a personal experience of poverty. *His social theories held to the relentlessness of love.*" His whole career was dominated by one holy enthusiasm,— 'For whosoever shall do the will

Grant Allen adds, "Any other pretended basis for individualism falls at once most feebly to the ground." He then shows how this common property has been wrested from its rightful owners, the people.

A writer in the *Westminster Review* has outlined a plan for restoring this property to the common wealth well worth consideration. It will effect the change with less friction, more thoroughly and with less delay than the single-tax method which Mr. Allen advocates. "The practice of

Land Purchase a profitable investment. private ownership is defended only upon the ground of its universal establishment, and the social derangement that would result by the overthrow of a system so deeply rooted in modern life by the usage of centuries. But it can be shown that it is not beyond the resources of statesmanship for the nation, again as of old, to acquire possession of the national soil, without any serious disorganization, social or political, by a simple though gigantic financial transaction." Then basing his plan on the ultimate title in the state to all the land, he would have it purchase the tenures of the present holders. He regards as a fair basis for purchase their rental value for fifteen years; for large estates have recently been sold at public auction at the low valuation of twelve years rental. These purchases could be made gradually, first taking agricultural and unimproved lands and renting them directly to the user.

Grant Allen concludes his article with this pronouncement: "Individualism is only a tenable creed if it is thorough-going and consistent, if it bases itself upon first principles; to pretend to individualism while upholding all the worst encroachments upon individuality in the shape of robbery from the common stock, with its consequent restriction of individual liberty to the right of starving in the public highway is a sham and a delusion." But individualism is not brotherhood. Economic individualism is selfishness. Brothers exchange gifts. Individuals bargain. A buyer finds a seller who does not fully understand the value, present or future, of his commodity and so gets it for less than its true worth, and then seeks for the sanguine man who will over-estimate and will give for the commodity more than its value. Such is the life of trade. He who can make a shrewd purchase and sale is the smart business man; he has found two men who didn't know as well as himself the true value of a commodity and he has pocketed the difference. He has fought and won two duels with honor, because he has obeyed the code in all his thrusts, though both of his opponents have been wounded. This is nineteenth century civilization! This is human brotherhood! This is the goal of the church—

of the State! The Christianity of Jesus! The liberty, the equality, the fraternity of our revolutionary patriots!

We have in America one studious, careful writer who is doing noble work in leading the nation toward a practical government based on the principle of a common brotherhood, Prof. Richard T. Ely, a true apostle of human helpfulness. But it is to be regretted that America has another popular, aggressive writer, the apostle of human selfishness, who is flooding our magazines with statistics thin as the paper on which they are written, but thick enough to hide the light from many who are seeking it,—Edward Atkinson. Frederick B. Hawley, in an able article, has shown the fallacies in Mr. Atkinson's attempts to justify our present economic

Edward Atkinson's system and lays bare the seductive figures under which Economic Theories. he attempts to conceal the grasping spirit of capitalism.

"The question as to the proportion in which our natural production is divided between the two great classes (the capitalist and the laboring class) is an exceedingly interesting and important one, and lies at the root of the social problems commanding most attention at the present time. Mr. Atkinson figures out that the 'profits of capitalists' absorbs only *four and one-half per cent.*, of all that is produced, whereas I would indicate the true proportion to be from *thirty-five to forty per cent.* The difference between us is a serious one, so serious that the one in error can hardly be looked to for any reliable information relative to the 'distribution of products.'" A careful perusal of these two writers will convince the reader that it is Edward Atkinson who would lead us into the blind paths. Any student who is foolish enough to wander into the grounds of this Giant Despair will find himself immured in the pessimistic dungeon of Doubting Castle. Come out with Hopeful and put up the sign "Over this stile is the way to Doubting Castle, which is kept by Giant Despair." This metaphor is poorly chosen; the goodness of a metaphor is in its aptness. A Giant, indeed! Yes, the Giant of the stage who strutting up and down before the footlights, pleases the little boys in the front row; a Giant stuffed with cotton and wool. It is a fallacious assertion that extravagant expenditures by the rich benefit the poor. This must be reiterated until no man living in wanton luxury can lull his conscience to sleep by any such siren song. "What the rich man costs the country is the sum of human efforts expended to satisfy his wants. If these efforts are utilized in satisfying the rich man's wants, they cannot be utilized to satisfy the wants of anybody else. What the rich spend luxuriously is consumed"

by them and no doctrine could well be more false, or, let me add, more demoralizing, than the belief that the rich man, in gratifying his passion for display and selfish gratification, really wastes nothing, really consumes nothing, but merely transforms himself into the means by which the poor get their living." Unfortunately the concluding words of his article reveal that Mr. Hawley, too, still sees men as trees, walking. "The right appeal (to the poor) is to show that society is an organism, and that increasing differentiation is the one condition absolutely essential to its progress, or even to its continued existence." Very true: but this is a *non sequitur*. "It is to show that the highest social functions can be adequately performed *only by the favorites of fortune*, and then to recognize and enforce such functions not only as the special duties but as really the best privileges of the rich." Consider for a moment how false this is to history. Has the world found its leaders among the rich? Has possession of wealth preceded a special fitness for guiding industrial enterprises? or, rather, has it not followed as the reward? Why should men with mercantile talents claim a greater share of wealth than artists, scientists, poets, military leaders, statesmen, teachers, preachers or writers? It cannot be because they do more good, work harder or suffer more. It is simply because material wealth passes through their hands and, like Robin Hood and his merry men, they dictate what shall be their own toll.

Switzerland has bravely begun the attack upon this abuse, establishing a system of graded property and income taxes which compels each man, in proportion as he has amassed more than his share of the common wealth to pay back into the common treasury. The trend in taxation is to equalize the burdens of life by taxing most those having most and that which is most injurious to the common weal. "There is perhaps no second case in the civilized world where this form of taxation has been exploited to such a degree, as regards both the amounts imposed and the suddenness of the progression."

The method is this: of the first 20,000 francs of each individual mass of property, 5-10 is put on the tax list, of the next 30,000, 6-10, of the next 50,000, 7-10, of the next 100,000, 8-10, of the next 200,000, 9-10, and of all above that 10-10.

"The proportion of the public burdens which ought to be borne by the well-to-do and the rich can be put upon their shoulders only by a system of income and property taxes. Furthermore, the same reason renders it proper to supplement the property tax on inheritances, which seizes the

property at a period of special ability to pay, and which again is to be made progressive, according to the size of the property and the remoteness of the relationship."

There is no weapon in the whole armory of social reform so effective for winning for all a just equality of condition, and next to the Nationalization of Industry there is nothing which will do more to hasten the glad time pictured in Looking Backward, as a system of laws by which inheritor estates shall be taxed according to their size in a geometrically increasing proportion, till a certain limit, say \$300,000 is reached; then tax all excess one hundred per cent. This is in the true spirit of human brotherhood. The accumulation of great wealth by one individual is possible only because of the great opportunities organized society furnishes him; opportunities for which the race has been preparing the way for centuries; and upon his death it may rightly claim as his heir, even as it was his ancestor, to receive back into the common wealth that which he has been allowed to amass. The Athenian lived a public life, but it did not have half the tensity and far reaching influence of modern community life. Telegraphs, steam engines, printing presses, cosmopolitan wants, all are drawing mankind into a closer union. Today, it is a mere mechanical mixture, but there is in the mass a sleeping force which will, once aroused, precipitate a chemical combination. There was shown to me, not long since, a little metal bar, apparently one piece, but on close examination, it was clearly seen to be four pieces, copper, brass, iron, and steel, with their ends so fused together by the electrical current that there were no longer four jointed metals, but one bar, copper at one end, steel at the other. So mankind, in its industrial, as in its religious and home life, must be melted by Love from a mere association into a true brotherhood. "We are now, it can hardly be questioned, in the presence of those new elements, ideas, and tendencies out of which a wider revolution is destined to issue, carrying on political changes to their adequate social consequences. The existing, concrete

Signs of Impending Revolution. system of capitalism, in its present shape, is not much more than a century old, and goes back to Arkwright's introduction of the spinning jenny in 1776 — that notable year — as to its hejira or divine epoch of creation. There is a depth below atheism, below anti-religion, and into it the age has fallen. It is the callous indifference to every instinct which does not make for wealth. For what is eloquently described as 'the progress of civilization,' as 'material prosperity,' and as 'unexampled wealth,' or more modestly as 'the rise of the

industrial middle class,' becomes, when we look into it with eyes purged from economic delusions, the creation of a 'lower and lowest' class, without land of their own, without homes, tools or property beyond the strength of their hands, whose lot is more helplessly wretched than any poet of the Inferno has yet imagined. Sunk in the mire of ignorance, want and immorality, they seem to have for their only gospel the emphatic words attributed to Mr. Ruskin: 'If there is a next world, they *will* be damned; and if there is none, they are damned already.'" The handwriting this prophet sees upon the wall is this: "Every authority, secular or spiritual, which has sat in the chair of sovereignty has ended in acquiring a firm hold on the land and capital of the society over which it ruled. It is in the nature of things that responsibility shall go with property, and *vice versa*. "They (the urban and rural populations) will be demanding the abolition of that great and scandalous paradox whereby, though production has increased three or four times as much as the mouths it should fill, those mouths are empty; the backs it should clothe are naked, the heads it should shelter homeless, the brains it should feed, dull or criminal, and the souls it should help to save, brutish. Yet we talk of 'over production' and wealth goes for purchasers to the ends of the earth. Surely it is time that science, morality and religion should speak out. A great change is coming; it is even now at the doors. Ought not men of good will to consider how they shall receive it, so that its coming may be peaceable?"

J. F. BISCOE.

THE RAMBLER'S PATH.

WHO IS TO BLAME?	North American Review.	REBECCA HARDING DAVIS, and others.
EXCESS OF WIDOWS OVER WIDOWERS.	Western Review.
CHRISTIANITY BECOMING MATERIALIZED.	North American Review.	J. B. WASSON.
THE CHRISTIANITY OF CHRIST.	The Forum.	ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.
SELFISHNESS IN COMPETITION.	National Review.	C. A. CRIPPS.
INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM.	Contemporary Review.
LAND PURCHASE A PROFITABLE STATE INVESTMENT.	Western Review.
EDWARD ATKINSON'S ECONOMIC THEORIES.	The Forum.	F. B. HAWLEY.
INCOME AND PROPERTY TAXES.	Political Science Quarterly.	Prof. GUSTAV COHN.
THE NEXT POSTAL REFORM.	The Forum.	Rev. Dr. LEONARD W. BACON.
SIGNS OF IMPENDING REVOLUTION.	The Forum.	Rev. Dr. WILLIAM BARRY.

THE VOICE OF MADISON.

The wrongs on which the social movement in this country has fixed attention have finally, thanks to unremitting agitation, become matters of such undisputed authenticity, that there is now a perceptible diminution of the refutations once attempted by those who, with book and candle, were, and to a certain extent still are, wont to formulate alleged scientific dicta in opposition to glaring facts. This sort of argument is now yielding to another which, in legal parlance, may be termed of confession and avoidance. It consists in admitting the ills complained of, but denying their connection with anything inherent in our economic system, and attributing them in some unexplained way to a departure from the wholesome lines originally laid down by the Revolutionary Fathers.* Accordingly, exhortations to return to old-time ways are becoming no uncommon thing; and, in proportion as this sort of declamation approaches the level of 4th of July orations, we find it festooned with flowery phrases on the fertility of our soil, with encomiums on the radical political advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of this over those of any other country, and with random quotations from the Revolutionary Fathers intended to show that they considered the principles established by them sufficient to insure to American industry the rewards of its labor, and to free the American people from the afflictions and problems that disturb the happiness of others.

A study of the works left to us by the Revolutionary Fathers reveals, however, that they were not the visionary beings their well-meaning admirers would make them, but indeed the giant intellects Pitt pronounced them to be. Peculiarly interesting among these statesmen on the social conditions of their days, and the future problems with which they thought the people would come to be confronted was James Madison, whom to study is to revere. Madison was no hireling scribbler, catering to a self-seeking constituency; no sycophantic pedagogue talking for place or pelf. He was an honest, as well as earnest and profound thinker, peering deep into the future in order to foresee his country's trials, and, if possible, smooth her path. Let us then enrich the discussion with the learning of this distinguished Revolutionary Father, and give ear to the voice of Madison.

* The centennial sermon of Bishop Potter is the latest, most notable, and curious instance of this new departure.

The question of the suffrage was one to which Madison justly attached critical importance. He understood it to be the point where political and economic conditions meet and react one upon the other. With pains, himself and his contemporary statesmen had devised our present duplex system of small and large constituencies intended to be a check on popular impulses, and, at the same time, a concession to republican instincts. This system met with Madison's approval. His reliance on its efficacy was, however, grounded upon the actual distribution of property in the United States, and the universal hope of acquiring it.† Those conditions, Madison argued, lay at the root of, inspired, and nurtured among the people a sentiment of sympathy with the rights of property. Again and again he declared that sentiment essential to the stability of a republican government. And he pointed with gratification to that social and economic peculiarity as among the happiest contrasts in the situation of the new-born states to that of the Old World, where no anticipated change in that respect could generally inspire a like sentiment of sympathy with the rights of property. But would the principles established by the revolution insure the permanence of that happy contrast?—and Madison's face grew overcast with apprehension as, searching the answer, his thoughts traveled whither economic and historic reasoning pointed the way.

Madison accepted the natural law touching the capacity of the earth to yield, under a civilized cultivation, subsistence for a large surplus of consumers beyond those who own the soil, or other equivalent property; he realized the great lengths to which improvements in agriculture, and other labor-saving arts were tending, and measured their effect upon the production of wealth; the laws of increasing population with the increasing productivity of labor were no secret to him; he succumbed to no hallucination on the score of the freedom of our political institutions; and, finally, gauging the effect of the individual system of production, or competitive struggle for existence, he drew from these combined premises, and declared the conclusions, that the class of the propertiless in the United States would increase from generation to generation; that, from being a minority, it would eventually swell into a majority; that it would be reduced to lower and lower wages affording the bare necessities of life; and that, thus gradually sinking in the scale of happiness and well-being, the large majority of the people of this country would finally touch the point

† Even as late as the year 1829, a majority of the people in the United States were property-holders, or the heirs and aspirants of property

where they would be, not only without property, but *without even the hope of acquiring it.*‡

It was then no immutable state of happiness, but a steady progress towards poverty that this eminent Revolutionary Father, for one, foresaw and foretold as the inevitable sequel of the forces at work under the economic system that lay at the foundation of the country. All the causes he enumerates as productive, by their combined agencies, of a majority of hopeless poor have been at work among us with an intensity beyond his forecast. The pitiable stage when the masses of the people would be, not only without property, but without even the hope of acquiring it, Madison calculated would be reached by the United States before the nation numbered a population greater than that of England or France. Our population is now double that of either; and Madison's gloomy prophecy is, accordingly, realized by us in its deepest colors. Our property holders have become an actual, ever decreasing minority; the propertiless are today the overwhelming majority; the wages of these have declined until they afford the bare means for a pinched subsistence; chance or intrigue, cautious crime or toadying, may, but no degree of honest toil can any longer, under the prevailing system, insure property or the just rewards of their labor to the myriad wealth-producing workers with brain or brawn; the few among them, with whom the spark of hope still glimmers, hold to a straw that must soon disabuse them; with most all hope in this direction is totally extinct; starvation, plus work, is creating by the thousands the genus "tramp," which prefers starvation minus work; and, as the certain consequence of grinding poverty and its concomitant extravagant wealth, immorality, as well as corruption, is rampant among the people, and breaks out in the government. Not, then, by reason of any degeneration, not by reason of any departure from, but closely adhering to the lines laid down by the Revolutionary Fathers, have the people reached the present shocking state against which the Nationalist movement is enlisted. The vulnerable point was the competitive system of production which the American revolution left extant. The present conditions are its logical result.§

‡ It should be noted that in this reasoning Madison altogether leaves out of his calculation the additional cause of immigration. Without this cause, a cause to which our so-called statisticians love to turn with predilection, Madison justly arrives at the conclusion upon which the present social movement rests, and from which it starts.

§ It does not necessarily follow from this that a blunder was committed by the Revolutionary Fathers. History seems to show that the competitive stage is a requisite step in the evolution of society. But whether this be so or not, today the competitive system is only productive of mischief.

On a notable occasion, John Adams, another Revolutionary Father, had uttered the sentence, that where the working poor were paid in return for their labor only as much money as would buy them the necessaries of life, their condition was identical with that of the slave, who received those necessaries at short hand; the former might be called "freemen", the latter "slaves," but the difference was imaginary only. Madison grasped the bearing of this profound thought in all its fulness. As his own reasoning revealed to him the eventual destitution of the masses, the conclusion was self-evident that their condition would become virtually that of slavery. A minority of slaves might be kept under; but a large majority — and that made up of the races to which the world owes its progress, — Madison realized would not long submit to the galling yoke. Accordingly, he descried in the not distant future a serious conflict between the class with and the class without property; the fated collapse of the system of suffrage he had helped to rear; and, consequently, the distinct outlines of a grave national problem.

The solution of this problem, which presented itself to Madison in the guise of a question of suffrage, involved, however, the economic question: What should be done with that unfavored class, who toiling in hopeless poverty, — slaves in fact, if not in name — would constitute the majority of the body social? This question Madison proposed, but vainly labored to find in the various methods of checks and balances an answer that was either adequate to the threatened emergency, or satisfactory to his judgment. To exclude the class without property from the right of suffrage he promptly rejected, as no republican government could be expected to endure that rested upon a portion of the society having a numerical and physical force excluded from and liable to be turned against it, unless kept down by a standing military force fatal to all parties. To confine the right of suffrage for one branch of the legislature to those with, and for the other branch to those without property, he likewise set aside as a regulation calculated to lay the foundation for contests and antipathies not dissimilar to those between the patricians and plebeians at Rome. And again, he shrewdly detected dangers lurking in a mixture of the two classes in both branches.

Thus the question of the suffrage brought Madison unconsciously face to face with the social question. His talent saved him from falling into a reactionary plan, or even resorting to a temporary make-shift; but likewise did the limitations of his age prevent him from hitting upon the

scheme which alone could solve both the problem that preoccupied him, and the graver one into which his spirit had projected. He gave the matter over ; but not without first bestowing upon it a parting flash of genius by the significant avowal that the impending social changes would necessitate a proportionate change in the institutions and laws of the country, and would bespeak all the wisdom of the wisest patriot.

Karl Marx stops in the midst of his analysis of the law of values to render tribute to the genius of Aristotle for discovering in the expression of the value of commodities the central truth of political economy which only the peculiar system of society in which he lived prevented him from accepting and carrying to its logical conclusion. How much more brilliant and deserving of tribute the genius of Madison that enabled him to take so long a look ahead ; calculate with such nicety the results of political and economic forces ; foresee with such accuracy the great coming problem of our country, and state it with such clearness ; weigh with such breadth of judgement the methods known to him in order to meet and solve it, and discard them one after the other with so much acumen ; rise to such height of statesmanship by boldly declaring the problem could be dealt with in no way other than by adapting the laws and institutions of the country to the social changes that may take place ; and, finally, commend the task to, and invoke for its performance, the wisdom of the future patriot !

That the wisdom of the Revolutionary Fathers and their teachings are not lost upon their successors, the appearance and growth of the Nationalist movement demonstrate. The voice of Madison has reached our generation. The patriots in the revolution now impending and equally important with that of a hundred years ago will be on hand.

DANIEL DE LEON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A Practical Result of Civil-Service Reform.

What a nationalized industry can show in the way of good results when conducted upon thorough business principles is exemplified by the record of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington, under the management of Mr. E. O. Graves, who applied to his work civil-service reform methods in the ablest way. Mr. Graves, whose recent resignation deprives the Nation of a most valuable official, reports that in the past four years the production of securities was 13,500,000 sheets greater, and the aggregate expenses \$540,000 less, than in the preceding four years. "Had the production of the two periods been equal, the saving would have been at least \$880,000; or \$220,000 a year." With civil-service reform carried out in the entire public service the universal showing would be equally gratifying, and the economy so great as to demonstrate the gain that would come from the complete nationalization of industry. There is no more immoral, degrading or pernicious feature of American politics today, than that which makes positions of public trust the rewards for partisan services too often rendered by men incompetent to fill those positions. To squander the public wealth for such purposes is simply theft and robbery. Civil-service reform will be one of the greatest stepping stones of Nationalism.

Single-tax Anarchism.

It is regrettable to see that some of the "single-tax" men, in their devotion to their idea as the sole panacea for the ills of society, are becoming thorough-going Anarchists. For instance, Mr. T. L. M'Cready, one of the staff of Henry George's Standard, takes a decidedly anarchistic position in regard to the educational question, and assumes that the parents are the rightful arbiters of the child's future. The doctrine that makes the child the slave of the parents, to be used for the profit of the latter and deprived of his opportunities in life at their pleasure, is a monstrous one. The State, in duty to itself, as well as children, is bound to see that the children have every chance to make the best of themselves, and the time must soon come when the present barbarous system of punishing a child because of the poverty of its parents, and denying it the education to which its position as a unit of an enlightened community entitles it, will be replaced by assuring to every child, however circumstanced by birth or material conditions, equal educational opportunities with all its fellows.

Postal Express.

The use of the mails for transmitting express packages is increasing in popularity. Were it not for the pressure upon Congress by the express companies, which thereby succeed in maintaining the rates upon fourth-class matter at one cent an ounce, and the limit at four pounds, the bulk of the express business would already have gone to the postoffice. This action of the express companies is one of many instances of the corrupting influence of private corporations upon public affairs. The public finds the postal service more expeditious, safe and convenient than private express service, and there is no reason why it should not be given the full benefit thereof. A significant instance is presented in the recent employment of the mails by a Boston manufacturer for sending type-writers to customers in Mexico, that proving the cheapest.

and best way, since by special treaty the international rates for fourth-class matter permit the sending of twelve-pound packages. Among the improvements which should be made in the postal service are the reduction of rates for express-parcels, and the removal of weight-limitations; while a most important innovation would be the insurance by the Government of all classes of mail matter on the payment of certain extra charges according to valuation of letters or parcels. The risk of the mails is so slight that a very considerable addition to the postal revenues could thus be obtained.

Apologists for Existing Abuses.

A weekly journal in Chicago, which claims to be devoted, among other things, to "general reform," ventures to say that "the Nationalists do harm. They excite hopes which will never be realized." The weak point in this assertion is, that it is not accompanied by any statement of the method which enables the Chicago editor to forecast the future for a thousand years. If his assertion is certain-sure, he ought to tell us how he found it out. But this is a gem of wisdom compared with what follows. By way of a social panacea he says that the laboring men must "look to the money men who rule the world for their advance." Then the American Revolution must have been a great mistake; those unlucky thirteen colonies should have looked to George III., for their advance. And in this country afterwards, for his advance, the slave should have looked to his "master." Why not? The plain truth is, no despot or great robber ever ministered less to the general good than do the monopolies and trusts that are now creating alarm. But educationally they are some use.

Why not try a change of Environment?

The Christian Register, though manifesting a generous sympathy with all attempts at social regeneration, goes so far wrong as to wonder if Bellamy is not in jest "when he proposes to revolutionize society without revolutionizing human nature." The trouble today is not so much with man's nature as with his environment—with the conditions that enthrall him. Must the creator of wealth be changed in his nature before it is proper to give him the full product of his toil? If the monopolies that now rob the many for the benefit of the few were destroyed, would that be no gain to a suffering people unless sixty millions were first transformed into a new spiritual order—angelicized before they were ripe, if the editor of the Christian Register will permit such a concept? Does the Register actually believe that human nature should be revolutionized before the Trust that has added four cents a pound to the price of sugar ought to be broken up? In a word, is it safe to give a man that which is his own before he becomes an angel? The good and clever man who edits the Register can answer this question just as well as we.

A Common Newspaper Error!

The New York Evening Post classes Nationalism with the schools of reform which would establish a system under which some persons may "live at the expense of others." The Post does us wrong: we teach just the contrary. The most grievous evil of the present system is that it enables a few to live, and amass immense fortunes too, at the expense of the multitude. And it is the precise purpose of Nationalism to establish conditions under which every man who is able to work must live at his own expense.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

C. F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

[Nationalists having friends in towns and cities mentioned in this department are requested to urge them to correspond with the addresses given. Others resident in these places not yet affiliated with our movement, but desirous of joining, need not hesitate to write to these addresses. Thus, through this department, a vast organizing force will be set to work which we could not reach in any other way. Ed.]

MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON. At the regular monthly meeting, Wednesday, July 10, about 150 were present. Rev. W. D. P. Bliss spoke on the "Ethics of Nationalism," and Henry W. Austin read a paper showing the immense waste of material, energy and money in the present way of conducting the business of fire insurance, thus indicating how much could be saved by the State assuming control of it. Mr. J. D. Dwyer, of Lynn, also spoke.

LYNN. The meeting of the Club July 11 was addressed by Messrs. Biscoe, Bowers, and Austin of the Boston Club, and W. A. Conway of the Lynn Club.

DEERFIELD. Edward Bellamy spoke on "Nationalism," July 20, at the largest meeting of the Deerfield Summer School. In the audience were George W. Cable, the novelist, Rev. Robert Collyer, Charlotte Fiske Bates, Prof. James D. Crawford, and others of note. Mr. Bellamy's text was, "The decay of competition and the growth of trusts," and he boldly declared that in ten years the plutocracy would have so developed that it would be necessary for the people to adopt Nationalism.

PENNSYLVANIA: PHILADELPHIA. The Club in this city will be launched very soon.

OHIO: CLEVELAND. The Free Land Club has become a Nationalist Club. It was first a Henry George Club, then a Single-Tax Club, then a Free Land Club and it has now made its final change, so the members think. A letter was read from Edward Bellamy. A full account of the change will be given in the next number.

505 North High street.

E. J. BRACKEN.

CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES. This Club, now eighty strong, has adopted the Principles of the Boston Club. The Pacific Union, of San Francisco, states that twenty-three Clubs are forming in the State of California.

ILLINOIS: CHICAGO. The Nationalists are making it hot for the Chicago Gas Trust. According to the Associated Press reports Chicago pays \$1.25 a thousand for gas which only costs five cents. The A. P. despatch says that our Club is composed of leading citizens in this city.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, WASHINGTON. Mr. E. W. Lightner, of Washington correspondent of the Pittsburgh Despatch, had an article in that paper July 14, in which he says many of the Congressmen are coming to believe that the only way to deal with the trusts is to nationalize trust industries.

This being the vacation period and many of our active members in different parts of the country being away from home, there is not so much to report as there was in our last and will be in our next numbers.

PARTIAL LIST OF CLUB SECRETARIES.

BOSTON	J. RANSOM BRIDGE, 110 Tremont street.
LYNN, MASS.	JOHN W. GIBBONEY.
NEW YORK CITY	W. C. TEMPLE, 18 East 47th street.
PORTSMOUTH, N. H.	ROBERT E. RICH.
HARTFORD, CONN.	W. L. CHENEY, P. O. Box 83.
WASHINGTON, D. C.	M. A. CLANCY, 1426 Corcoran street.
CHICAGO	CORINNE S. BROWN, Woodlawn Park, Ill.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.	LEROY BERRIER.
OAKLAND, CAL.	EUGENE HOUGH.

MONOPOLIES OF MUNICIPAL SERVICE.

THE GAS DRAGON.

SPEECH OF ARTHUR HILDRETH AT THE JUNE MEETING OF THE
BOSTON NATIONALIST CLUB.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN:

I wish to present to you Mr. Charles P. Greenough, the mouth and fangs of that great dragon, the Bay State Gas Company. I wish to show you his peculiar row of teeth, and let you feel how he breathes hot and cold at one and the same time! Let us look closely at this specimen of ancient animal life, who still manages to maintain his ground in the struggle for life with nobler creations; for his race will soon be run, and nothing left of him but head and jaws, preserved in some museum. First, however, let us travel to Wheeling, Richmond, and Philadelphia, cities furnishing their own gas, and hear what our Legislative Committee reports. At Philadelphia and Richmond the price of gas is \$1.50 a thousand feet; in Wheeling, owing to cheap coal, \$1.00. This is considerably above the actual cost. Richmond could furnish gas at a little over half the figures. But, mark you, the surplus, instead of going to increase the blubber of lazy gas dragons, goes to the people. The cities get their public lighting for nothing. Nor is this all. In Philadelphia last year the gas works netted \$550,000, after heavy expenses for extensions. In Richmond and Wheeling, after furnishing the public light, the remaining profits are used to diminish taxation. The Richmond gas dragon was supposed to have died nearly forty years ago. The Philadelphia gas dragon, fifty years ago; yet the reptiles still have life. Over a million has been offered to Richmond to surrender its gas works to a private company. To Philadelphia \$20,000,000 has been offered. Such reptiles, you see, die hard. But now let us examine our own dragon, Mr. Charles P. Greenough, a corporation lawyer. He comes making frightful faces. "Who are the petitioners," sneers he, "who ask you to make this startling change in the whole economic policy of this State? A club of Nationalists, and I think we had the whole club here, making up for their lack of numbers by constant reappearance, like an army on the stage." Mr. Greenough has no idea of the numbers of the Nationalists, but as to their gift of reappearing, he's correct. They will continue to reappear till dragons disappear.

"The clergymen," sneers Mr. Greenough, "added little strength. Two hundred years ago clergymen had all the knowledge there was; but it's not so now. I am loath to speak with even apparent disrespect of Dr. Hale, but his gas in Roxbury didn't burn well, and he wanted a change. I think all he needed was to have his gas-burner cleaned out. Think what a remedy he advocates for such a slight disease."

"Mr. Moxom actually claimed," sneers Mr. Greenough, "that the 400,000 people of Boston had as much right to go into the gas business as the party now engaged in it." Mr. Greenough thinks this so comical, that he leaves it without remark. But the time will

come, Mr. Greenough, when to aver that the light and heat of a great city should be a perpetual profit to forty individuals, will stamp a man as mad, and the mere perusal of your present argument will excite bursts of laughter, just as the anti-public-water arguments of 1845 rouse laughter now.

"As for Colonel Higginson," sneers Greenough, "his position simply was that he thought that there were certain reasons in favor of proceeding in the direction of municipal lighting." Right, Mr. Greenough, there are certain reasons: they are very certain, and that's why we advocate them. But now let us examine our dragon's peculiar teeth. He has a row of ten, all upper; these four front teeth are his four intrinsic distinctions between gas and water; these two right molars are his great justice arguments; these two left molars are his money arguments; these two eye teeth are his corruption arguments; this long horrid-looking eye tooth on the right is political corruption; this enormous-looking thing on the left is private corruption. Such are the teeth by which this reptile expects to hold the city of Boston in his mouth, till he slowly swallows and digests us.

"Water," says Mr. Dragon Greenough, "is required by towns in order to extinguish fires; but gas is of no use for extinguishing fires. For this reason gas should not be under city control." But are commons or public gardens good for extinguishing fires? Are libraries? Can hospitals put out flames? Or public schools? Yet, if water should be under town control because required for extinguishing fires, ought not everything else which is necessary for the extinguishing of fires? If Mr. Greenough's reason were valid, then government should furnish the telegraph, coal, horses *to all its citizens*; for the telegraph gives the alarm, coal heats the engines, horses draw the engines, and without these aids water would be of little use. "But," roars the dragon, "gas is not only useless for putting out fires; it is the cause of them from explosions." If we still pursue dragon's logic, then, surely, government should give no license to a corporation to bring in among innocent citizens so destructive a thing as gas. It will set fire to the town, and all the public water will be used up putting it out. This tooth don't bite, Mr. Dragon, let us look at the next. "Moreover," says Mr. Greenough, "water is a natural product; gas has to be manufactured by a scientific and difficult process. The success of a gas company depends mainly upon the skill and technical knowledge of the engineer who manages it." Now, drawing water from ponds and drawing gas from coal are not without a certain analogy. The success of the city aqueduct depends upon the skill and technical knowledge of the engineer who builds it, and keeps it in repair. Is the manufacture of gas really so much more difficult than the building of aqueducts? Is it possible that water boards can successfully appoint engineers for aqueducts, but gas boards cannot be trusted to appoint engineers for gas works? Is the manufacture of gas more difficult than education? Is it possible that a school committee, often ignorant themselves of the first principles of many subjects taught, can, by the use of simple common sense, appoint teachers who are able to carry learners through the intricate process of mastering Greek, Latin, and mathematics, but a gas board cannot appoint an engineer capable of overseeing gas works? Does the manufacture of gas require more skill and technical knowledge than the detection of disease? Is it possible that the board of health can succeed in appointing a capable city physician, but a gas board never would be able to find an engineer smart enough to carry on gas works? This tooth has a cavity, Mr. Greenough; let us look at another.

"Water is a necessity of life; everybody must drink and use water; but gas is not a necessity of life. Not a tenth of the people use gas; the other nine-tenths manage to live on somehow without it." But is the post-office a necessity of life? Was there not a time when men "managed to live on somehow without it?" Are roads necessities of life? Could we not make our way on foot through woods and fields without ceasing to exist? Are bridges necessities of life? Might we not swim or walk round the rivers, and so manage to live on somehow without bridges? As we cannot drink into our bodies parks, gardens, libraries, and schools, shall the city cease to control them? But on the other hand, in making this necessity argument, are you willing to admit that every necessity of life is to be given to the city? Bread is a necessity of life. Everybody eats bread. Shall we give the bakeries to the city, Mr. Greenough? Clothes in this climate are a necessity of life. Everybody wears clothes. Shall we give the tailor shops to the city, Mr. Greenough? "But," roars the dragon, "not a tenth of the people of Massachusetts use gas." Supposing they don't; does it follow that where they do use it, the people shall have no gas works? Not a tenth of the people of Massachusetts use the Boston public garden. Does it follow that in Boston where they do use it, that city should have no public garden? This tooth is loose, poor dragon. Give us a look at the next.

"Water," says Mr. Greenough, "is one of the requisites for health. To live in a healthy condition requires the use of water in every house, and there can be no successful sewerage system without the use of water. On the contrary, gas is injurious to health; it is poisonous to breathe and dangerous to life under certain circumstances." I fear, Mr. Greenough, this health tooth is decayed. Were it a question of introducing the post-office, Mr. Greenough would oppose it and tell us that there was a difference between water and letters. Water was a requisite for health, but not letters. If it was a question of bridges, he would say, "Bridges are not requisite for health, on the contrary they are dangerous to life under some circumstances." If it was a question of water, if we, the people, hadn't already got water out the claws of the dragon family, he would say that it should not be introduced by the city, because it would suffocate a man who breathed it, because it was dangerous to life under some circumstances. If it was a question of libraries and schools, he would say, "No! don't let's have them; they have nothing to do with a successful sewerage system." These, then, are the dragon's front teeth. All attempts to establish a distinction of principle between water and light must, of necessity, fail. Whatever their unlikeness, they resemble each other in this: They are useful to the people; they are necessities of civilized life; they cannot be run by companies without creating and perpetuating a dangerous moneyed oligarchy. Now let us look at his molars, — those on the right, his two great arguments for justice. Says he: "Mr. Russell stated the historical side of the question very aptly the other day, when he said that the people of this country came from the other side of the Atlantic for the purpose of escaping just such governmental institutions as this, — for the purpose of escaping the constant supervision by the government of all their business relations." This is, indeed, an historical view, so new we must examine it closely. The Pilgrim Fathers, it seems, tore themselves from their dear native land, and in a fragile bark, braving the terrors of the deep, stood finally on Plymouth rock, and with souls swelling with love of liberty, hoped to sell butter and lard without government interference. Alas! they were mistaken. Massachusetts would not allow it. According to the law of that State, inspectors of butter and lard are appointed by the governor who come

with a hollow iron searcher, perforate the contents of every cask from one head to the other, and see if the contents has a due proportion of good fine salt and is not in danger of spoiling. Massachusetts said to the parties who had crossed the Atlantic to escape government supervision, "Among men who are trying to make all they can out of other people, honesty is not always thought to be the best policy. It is one of the duties of government to protect the people against rascals; for this reason if you attempt to send forth a cask of butter without the brand of Massachusetts upon it, you are fined." The noble Pilgrim fathers, standing on Plymouth rock with lifted eyes and lofty hearts, hoped to be able, at least, to pickle fish without constant government supervision. But, according to the law of Massachusetts, fish has to be packed under the supervision of fish-inspectors. The inspector may enter upon any wharf, store, or warehouse, where fish is packed or pickled, and begin his intolerable governmental interference of protecting the public against rascals. They tried other industries, hops, milk, potash, sole leather, provisions, oil; they are all under government supervision. They built railroads. A long statute law, recognizing the dangerous nature of a rich corporation, prescribes minutely how the business is to be managed. Over the railroad companies are set three commissioners and a clerk, who travel free over the roads, while the companies pay their salaries. The commissioners examine closely into the companies and report them yearly with comments. They see that the companies violate no law, and prosecute them if they do. On demand of the board the company has to give them information. They examine their books and accounts to see if they are kept upon the prescribed system. Nor is this all. According to the law of Massachusetts, after a railroad has been in operation twenty years, the State may buy it by giving one year's notice, the price to be settled by arbitration. Verily, if the Pilgrims hoped to escape government supervision in railroads, Massachusetts was the wrong place to come to. Then the Pilgrims set up the Boston Gas Company. They hired men to make the gas at the lowest market price, and took enormous profits themselves to pay them for the trouble of taking the money. All they wanted was that government would not supervise them. All they wanted was to be let alone. Yet, what happened? Well knowing themselves — well knowing that if left to do as they pleased, they would mismanage their works, furnish poor gas, overcharge, water their stock; in a word, well knowing that they were by nature gluttonous dragons, and might be treated as such sometime by an angry people, they crept on their bellies up to the State House, and approved the act creating the gas commissioners, putting themselves voluntarily under that very government supervision, to escape which they had crossed the Atlantic. Nay, their own Greenough drew up the law; "And, now," says he, "no other private business in the country is under such supervision, and no other private corporations are obliged to give such publicity to their business relations as the gas companies of this State." Now crouching down behind this fence of wickerwork, the gas companies cry, "Look at us, how innocent and good we are. We might have done you a great deal of harm by overcharging and giving poor gas, as other companies in other states have done, but we did not. On the contrary we have let you pen us up with this wicker fence, we have backed up and let you tie our hands behind. The Worcester Gas Company, to be sure, gave bad service and overcharged, but on complaint of the citizens, the board ordered a 'reduction of price, and a large extension of pipes.' You see if we attempt to impose upon you, you can always drive us to do right. D-d-don't, therefore, destroy our business, we'll be good, and do you no more harm than

you will let us, if you will only allow the profits to go on flowing into our pockets. Think how far we came across the Atlantic to escape government. Think of the long, lonesome voyage we took to acquire the uncontrolled liberty of making other folks pay tribute to us for life. Look upon us, your Pilgrim fathers, and raise no impious hand against us!" But Mr. Greenough has a second argument for justice. Philadelphia, Richmond, and Wheeling are making large profits out of the gas works. Instead of the gas companies getting the profits, the citizens get them. The money heretofore disappearing into the pockets of gas companies, now lights the cities, and serves to diminish taxes in general. In Manchester, England, the money headed off from the gas company gives a magnificent City Hall, the pride and admiration of every body except gas companies. But lo! a phenomenon! This corporation attorney who, so we thought, had lost all sense of moral distinctions, now stands forth as a moral philosopher. He comes with a wash tub brim full of moral soap-suds, and pours it with energy over those bad towns of Philadelphia, Richmond, Wheeling, and Manchester. "Raise taxes from gas consumers for the benefit of people who do not use gas! Take profits unnecessarily out of the pockets of gas consumers to squander on absurd and extravagant public buildings! Squeeze profits out of gas consumers to be squandered in public improvements that nobody wants!" Thus he vociferates. But the objects of his pity, these men so unjustly treated, for some reason or other, seem not to be aware that they are wronged. Says the report of the Legislative Committee: "The fact that they are making a profit on the business does not trouble the Philadelphia folks." They perhaps reason thus: Taxes come mainly from the rich; the rich and the gas consumers are nearly identical; it matters little to us whether we are taxed for gas or for property. Still, it is a touching sight to see our gas dragon taking the part of the oppressed; to see him sitting on his haunches with one great paw in his eye, while tears of sympathy roll down his nose, only to be quenched in the fire of his indignation, when rising upon all fours, he denounces those cities of Belial, where the gas consumers are by their own preference taxed on gas instead of on their personal property. Our dragon, wholly occupied with the fear that well-to-do gas consumers will have to contribute something for the benefit of those too poor to use gas, overlooks the true reason why towns should sell gas at cost. Gas should be sold at cost, not because the present gas consumers of Philadelphia and others are being treated unjustly, but because the non-consumers have not a proper chance. The cheaper gas becomes, the more universal will be its use, not only by the poorer classes for light, but by every body for heat and cooking. To tax gas is to hinder the spread of civilization, and the Massachusetts plan of taxing personal property seems the better policy. These molars on the right, Mr. Greenough Dragon, seem to be nothing but stumps. Let us look at the other two molars on the left—the two money arguments. First, the town officials are incompetent. "If towns are encouraged in this matter, they will be led into a speculative attempt to run a gas business which would be sure to fail. It is not probable that a changing board of selectmen would be more competent to run a gas company successfully than a trained gas engineer." Here is a difficulty we were not prepared for. In the words of Snout, the tinker, "By'r lakin, a parlous fear." I believe we must leave the gas works out, when all is done. And not gas works only. If towns are encouraged to educate their own children, they will be led into a speculative attempt to run school houses, which would be sure to fail. It is not probable that a changing school board would be more competent to run a

school successfully than a trained teacher. Stop aqueducts. It is not likely that a changing water board, composed of editors, lawyers, grocers, will be more competent to construct and manage an aqueduct than a trained engineer. Stop public gardens. How can a city government who can't dig run a garden? Stop towns from building bridges; who would walk on a bridge built by incompetent selectmen? Stop the gas companies themselves. It is not likely that a changing body of stockholders would be more competent to run gas works successfully than a trained gas engineer. Our specimen turns out to be a green dragon. What other kind would make an argument such as this and think it was a tooth? But now the other money argument; the risks. "The gas works of Spencer" says Mr. Greenough, "blew up a few weeks after they were completed, and had to be rebuilt. Is that a proper risk for towns to take upon themselves? Similar explosions of gas works are not unfrequent, and occur all over the country."

As on the Fourth of July a Chinaman stands on his threshold,
Lights a whole bunch of red crackers, and throws them down on the highway;
First comes a smoke, then a fizz, and then a continual popping:
So through the breadth of this land the gas works are constantly bursting.

But the gas companies are not frightened. See how they rush to invest their money, although nearly deafened by the ceaseless explosions; because they know that a few men can easily rebuild a burst gas tank, but a whole town would never be able to do it, because the wealth of the town is so much larger.

"Within three months," cries Greenough, "two large gas tanks were struck by lightning; the explosion was fearful." So? But, then, steeple houses are sometimes struck by lightning. In fact, every one knows they are being knocked down like ninepins all over the country. Therefore, parishes should never own churches, never; it is too risky; a church should be owned by a corporation of two or three rich men, who will bear the expense of the church tumbling, save the people the risk, and in exchange hire the church out to the worshippers at a rate equal, in a few years, to the cost of, say, twenty churches.

"Then," says Mr. Greenough, "there is another risk. There is no method of compelling the gas consumer to take gas, and if he don't choose to take it, the town may be left with an unremunerative plant on its hands." We all know, Mr. President, how great this risk is. We know how peevish towns are, how they will take a freak to give up some great benefit and run backwards in civilization. How often it has occurred that towns have built fine roads at great expense and the inhabitants have almost to a man suddenly taken it into their heads not to use roads and have persisted in running cross lots, and driving their hay carts over the fences. Mr. President, you yourself remember how, when several of the chief cities of this Commonwealth had laid out certain parks and public gardens, the citizens one and all refused to walk in them. Nay, every one of you, ladies and gentlemen, can easily call to mind the fact that towns have often built expensive schoolhouses, and the people, having suddenly taken a notion to educate their children by private instruction at home, the schoolhouses have remained a dead loss, rotting slowly to the ground. And it is the same with libraries. Now if towns act thus in regard to roads, gardens, schoolhouses and libraries, much more are they likely so to act in regard to aqueducts for which those who use them have to pay a yearly tax. The water reports of Boston tell how earnestly and repeatedly the Greenoughs of the last generation warned the city of Boston not to build their expensive aqueduct, for the people would not take the water; and we all know how almost to the

letter that solemn warning has been fulfilled. The people of Boston chose to stick to their wells and rain-water cisterns, and did stick to them, and do stick to them now, and those miles of aqueduct, those sluices, those majestic reservoirs, remain to this day a piteous monument of human folly.

"But," says Mr. Greenough, "the towns might want gas very much, yet it is easily conceivable that the gas might become too bad for use. Suppose the people in a town are dissatisfied with the town's management and with the quality and price of the gas, what remedy have the consumers? Gas commissioners cannot force towns to make good gas. The people can only give up using gas; and there would be the gas works on the town's hands." When public gardens are mismanaged, since under republican institutions—according to Greenough history—the gardener cannot be changed, there is nothing left for the citizens but to give up using the gardens. When roads are mismanaged and holes left to annoy the wayfarer, nothing is left the citizens but to give up roads and stay at home. When teachers are incompetent and the children learn nothing, there is nothing left the people but to give the schools up. O, Mr. Greenough, what a dear, little, innocent, playful Puck of a Dragon you are! There is in England a famous city called Liverpool. Its docks are the wonder of the world. They are fourteen miles long and contain 180 acres of water space. Twenty thousand vessels are moored there every year. "Now," says Greenough, "the gas company in Liverpool was obliged to pay more than \$1,000,000 damages in an action brought against them by the city of Liverpool for injuries to the docks caused by a fire from escaping gas. Such a verdict, gentlemen, as that would ruin the town of Danvers." Yes, Mr. President, unable to pay the damages levied upon themselves, the townsmen would have to quit the town. Its ten churches would decay, the office of its weekly newspaper would crumble, its manufactories of boots and shoes would be no more. Nothing would be left of the poor little town but the charred ruins of its docks fourteen miles long, while its 180 acres of water space would be but pools for the owl and the bittern. Meanwhile, in Liverpool where a company amasses such wealth that it can pay a million of dollars damages without staggering, it might be well to transfer the gas business to the city. Still, let us listen to Mr. Greenough's last paragraph on this point, page 33. "Explosions and leaks of gas are constantly occurring, and the damages which ensue may be enormous as in Liverpool, or—trifling as is the usual case." But now take care! Curling up his lip the dragon shows his eye teeth; while from his throat bursts out one roar, "Cor-r-uption."

"Has the management of the water board been an argument in favor of giving the management of gas to a similar board? What a record of incapacity, of political jobbery, occasionally diversified by open fraud and robbery, we have seen for twenty-five years in the management of that board! When you remember the steals, the scandals, the complaints, perhaps you will agree with me that it is questionable whether Boston has not had more reason to be dissatisfied with the water board, than it would have had, if water had been supplied by a private company."

"In England, which is cited here as an example to be followed by us, they have recently had a most glaring case of fraud by a gas engineer of the city of Salford. He was discovered to have been receiving commissions from certain colliery companies of ten pence per ton upon all coals which they supplied upon contract to the city of Salford.

He was arrested, tried both for swindling and perjury, and sentenced to penal servitude for five years."

"In Russia, a country too much governed, too much nationalistic I may say, it is notorious that the practice of giving presents to government officials has always existed. In an article on the police system in Russia, George Kennan reports a conversation that he had with a district secretary in a little town in Siberia. Said the Secretary, 'Mr. Kennan, I take money from the peasants; I know it is dishonorable, but what am I to do? I receive a salary upon which it is impossible for me to live; my superior officer, the chief of the district police, takes bribes; the governor of the province takes bribes; and if I should refuse to take bribes, I should either be arrested as a revolutionist in disguise, or should be kicked out for setting myself up to be a more honorable man than his excellency, the governor.' Comment on this is unnecessary."

"Now" continues Mr. Greenough piously, "some of you have read the book of Genesis, all of you I hope, and will recall the business transactions in wheat of Joseph and Pharaoh in Egypt, a corner in wheat eminently successful. It is the first recorded instance that I can find of a government going into business, and supplying not only its own citizens, but the people of other countries with the necessities of life. You will remember also that the venerable and experienced Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to buy some of the grain, and he said to them 'Take the money and give it to the man in Egypt,' and then he added this, 'take also of the best fruits of the land in your vessels and carry down the man a present, a little balm, a little honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds.'

"A little balm" chuckles Greenough, "a little balm," cries he once more, and he is so delighted with this biblical example of government corruption that he takes it for the motto of his speech and puts it on the title page. "All we can do, gentlemen," says he, "all we can do is to take care that our officials are not tempted by such opportunities." Mr. Greenough ceases, and folds his hands across his breast. About half the population of England are now enjoying public gas in 168 different localities; and fourteen local authorities began public gas within a single year. Out of these numerous communities you have found a single gas engineer, who, braving the fact that the public eyes were above him like the stars of heaven, ventured to receive some balm from a coal company, and was clapped into prison in consequence. So you say we must give up the idea of public gas works because all we can do is to take care that our engineers are not tempted. Well, let them go! The towns of England are fast taking possession of the water works. The Report of the Local Government Board for 1886-7 shows that in one year seventy-one separate governing bodies obtained loans for public water supply. In the United States almost all the great cities own their own water works. From this great field you single out the Boston Water Board, and tell us that for twenty-five years they have been taking balm. You refer to the Fisher Hill scandal, where the chairman of the board was accused of buying land at a high price for the city from a friend, who, hearing that the city wanted it, had bought it at a low price. You refer to the water meter scandal, where it was said that this same chairman, being interested in water meters had introduced large numbers of his own bad meters, which the city had to pay for. There was also, you say, a scandal about a pumping engine. All these scandals took place under the same water board, the newspapers rode them on a rail over town for weeks, they were prosecuted in the courts, they were thrust out of office by the mayor. In effect, Mr. Greenough, your method is this: You tell us that the coast of Massachusetts is for

twenty-five miles heaped up as high as your head with rotting fish cast ashore by the waves, and you show us in evidence thereof three fishes, rather rotten indeed, but all lying in one place. Perhaps your exaggeration is caused by the fact that you wear a pair of spectacles, the bows of which encircle not glasses to improve the sight, but two great silver dollars. Following your lead, we must give up our water works to some corporation. All we can do is to take care that our officials are not tempted. Well, let the water works go. But we cannot stop here. All other public works where our officials may be tempted must be done away with. Let the school boards and the public schools go next! The majority of the children would receive no education, but what of that? The school board and the teachers might receive some balm. Let the parks go: they are filled with corruption. In a small park at the south end, with trees, flower beds, and a fountain, an aged policeman is placed on guard. In the mornings a sharp observer can discern certain young ladies on their way to school, experienced wire-pullers, who have so got round that old policeman, that with his connivance they gather small bouquets of public flowers to put in their button-holes; nay, the old policeman himself stoops down and gathers an especially pretty public flower for them. Away then with the police! Has Greenough not told us that in Russia they take bribes from the governor downwards? Give the policing of the city into the hands of a private corporation which will not take bribes, for all we can do is to look to it that our officials are not tempted. Give up the roads; give up the bridges; put them all once more into the hands of toll men. The Yankee people is a tallowed rag; their heads loll, their arms dangle, their flabby bodies bend over. They cannot do their own work; somebody else must do it for them. They cannot stand alone; they must be strapped to poles. They cannot even make their own poles; an English corporation must be called in to do it, calling themselves a company for supplying artificial substitutes for Yankee backbone. Now everything, you see, is given up to the corporations, except the Legislature. But why pause here? In order that they be not tempted let them abolish themselves, previously granting an everlasting charter to an English corporation under the style and title of "The Noble Lords of Massachusetts," to make laws hereafter for the people, since Republican government has failed through its corruption. Yet before we take the final step, let us cast our eyes about. The dragon has told us about the corruption of administrative boards and the whole sidewalk before their doors is covered with the rotting words poured forth from the fell dragon's throat; but now let us examine the corruption of the legislatures upon which, strange to say, the dragon is silent. Says the American Economic Association, "Innocent aldermen discover that since their election they have received no bills for gas." In 1884 in Detroit the gas and electric companies bid against each other. The gas company underbid, but the city council notwithstanding, accepted the bid of the electric light company. Mayor Grummond vetoed it; the council overrode the veto eight to two. Just before the vote one of the councilmen arose in his seat to say that he had been offered \$1,000 to vote against the veto. The next day one of the city newspapers openly named a councilman as having probably taken money for his vote. In 1884 a law was passed by the State Legislature of New York giving the aldermen of New York City the option of selling franchises for street railroads at auction to the highest bidder. Unfortunately it was not made compulsory. In the words of the governor, "The aldermen refused to permit the city to avail itself of this power for what it would realize at an honest public sale, and without exacting a dol-

lar's compensation, gave the franchise of Broadway away to a corporation that had purchased a majority of the votes by which the outrage was consummated. All this was done against the protest of the citizens and in spite of the fact that millions had been offered the city by responsible parties for the same franchise."

"It is probable" remarks Dr. D. R. Dewey of the Massachusetts "Institution of Technology, "that for a considerable term of years, the cities of the United States will continue the policy of giving their streets to corporations which can control the most votes, without regard to the financial interests of the public." Now what is the reason that the American cities at present running their own gas works refuse to give them up to corporations? Says the mayor of Richmond to our legislative committee, "The people would be more certain of a reasonable price. A company might contract, upon buying the works, not to raise the price, etc., but, if the city government refused to modify this contract, it would not be very hard, in two or three years, to elect a council favorable. This would introduce a disturbing political factor." In 1882, when a private company tried to persuade Richmond to sell its gas works, a committee was sent to examine the works of many other cities. They reported that, "As a matter of fact, there is more danger to be feared from the presence of a wealthy corporation, having valuable franchises, seeking to influence our elections by corrupt means, than there is that political harm will result from the city's control of its own gas department." Now, dragon, how comes it about that in your masterly history of corruption from the present time up to Jacob, you nowhere make mention of that most serious corruption of all, the corruption of legislatures and of city councils? Does it come too near home? You are much concerned for fear a gas engineer may be tempted to receive some balm from colliers; but how much balm do you or your fellow dragons bring to those innocent new elected aldermen? You long to protect a water board from the temptation of receiving honey; but how much honey did you or your fellows bestow upon those councilmen of Detroit? How much did you bring those aldermen of New York? Tender dragon, how like a mother you would protect our administration from corruption, but when the Massachusetts Senate refused the Danvers Electric Light Bill, passed almost unanimously by the House, how much balm did you and your fellows distribute there? How much honey? How many nuts and almonds? Though that Senate may be innocent as snow, they cannot escape suspicion. You advise the people not to take the gas works into their own hands lest at some time or other their engineer may take a tip; you think it better to retain the gas works in your own power, and with them the means to corrupt, if necessary, an entire Legislature. Administrative boards are, in general, under an almost irresistible necessity to do right. Their accounts are public. The newspapers are watching them. They can be faithless only on very exceptional occasions, and at great risk; but you can reach out your balm constantly and in unlimited quantities, for the purpose of getting the use of public machinery for your private interests. To get out of a little corruption, shall we subject ourselves to much corruption? To get out of a puddle knee-deep, shall we jump into a bog over our heads? To save a little money lost by official faithlessness, and our own carelessness, shall we pay out forever, millions on millions, fattening the corporations, and contributing our last cent to assist them to corrupt our own government? Before we abolish the Legislature for corruption, before we give up our water boards, before we let go the gas works, would it not be better to abolish those giant corporations, the very cause of that corruption, at whose door nine-tenths of all the cor-

ruption in the land can properly be laid? Would it not be better to seize those monsters now sucking the vitality of the nation, pecuniary and moral, and with the sword of commonsense lay them lifeless on the ground and use their carcasses, their hills of fat, to enrich the public land? The killing of gas dragons has been, and is becoming more and more a favorite occupation with St. George; and equal skill will soon be shown by his relations in America. The dragon's first eye tooth snaps short off, because it was only a shell filled with corruption gold. It was unwise to attempt to bite with such a tooth. But the dragon has one eye tooth left, and with a resolute, resonant roar, makes a final attempt to reach our hearts. "Not only would public gas works foster private corruption, they might become engines of political corruption. Such was the case in Philadelphia. The gas business of that city had been put into the hands of an irresponsible board of trustees. As they could not be called to account, they soon took advantage of their position. Using the profits of the gas to hire 3,000 employees on whose votes they could rely, they got possession of the water department, the highway department, the tax department, the city treasurer's department. One of their friends became mayor. He filled the police with their creatures. They bought up a controlling interest in the principal horse-car company, and got the votes of the employees. The debt of the city rapidly rose; taxation rose in proportion. The board of trustees made great fortunes, supported a vast army of henchmen, and owned Philadelphia politically. In 1887, says the Report of our Legislative Committee, the board was wiped out. There were then 3,100 gas employees; there are now 1,700, and some are discharged every week. General Wagner, who is in charge, intends to keep on reducing the force and pursuing business like methods." Now what does this story prove? It proves what we knew before, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It proves that if a city is foolish enough to put the gas into the hands of an irresponsible board, it must take the consequences. And it proves one thing more. When by culpable carelessness the affairs of a city seem desperate, they can be righted by the vigor of Republican institutions. Among the many cities supplying their own gas in continental Europe, England and America, Mr. Greenough has found one, where owing to a gross want of foresight, the gas department has been made an engine for political corruption; and he thinks this should be a warning to all cities to give up their own gas, and put themselves in the pinchers of a private company. You are easily discouraged, are you not, Mr. Greenough? Now why does Philadelphia, after such a dance, decline to give up her gas works? She says, the trouble is over; it will never occur again; the board of trustees is gone; the original gas debt is paid; we own our works, and we propose now to enjoy the fruits of them. Now, Mr. Greenough, would it not be better to go to Philadelphia, the city that has experienced this tribulation, and persuade the people there to give up their gas works, and then comes to Boston and scare us? Or will you sit there grinning at us with your last tooth gone? O for another Scipio to stand over your plutocratic body with a rattan and bid you "not despair of the Republic!" Friends and fellow Nationalists, I have here a magic herb. It is good for dragons. When they smell of it, they have to tell the truth. Smell then, Mr. Greenough! Now answer me one question. You are very anxious to protect the public against injustice, risks, corruption. Tell me now, how much do you really care for the public?

"In the words of Vanderbilt, 'The public be ——'"

We know the rest. For once you have spoken true, and it may save your soul. Now

creep back into your hole. But lo! a wonder. As by a magic touch the ass's noul in the play flies up, and Bottom the weaver is seen with his own clown's head, so now, the dragon's head suddenly drops from the shoulders of Charles P. Greenough, Esq., and we see that his real head is that of a blue-eyed sheep. That horrible countenance that scared us so, was nothing but a painted mask covering up the physiognomy of the most inoffensive of animals. Hark, how he bleats! "Theoretically it is quite possible that towns can make their own gas cheaper." (Page 15.) It certainly appears that such is the case. In 1885 a committee of the New York State Legislature reported on the operations of the New York gas companies. It appeared that during the ten years previous, the gas consumers had paid, first, the cost of the gas, second, ten per cent., on the capital, and third, \$9,000,000 besides. It appeared further that the ten per cent. dividend was paid not on capital actually paid in by the stockholders, but on a pretended capital much in excess of the real capital. If the dividends are calculated on the capital actually paid in, it would be seen that the gas consumers had not only contributed such dividend, but a further amount sufficient, in fact, to nearly duplicate the present system of gas supply. "The people of the United States," says the American Economic Association, "are paying a ten per cent. dividend on \$150,000,000 of fictitious capital." Now mark the sheep for he begins again to bleat. "If towns should make their own gas and sell it at cost, and the public service could escape demoralization, then, I admit, it would be a good thing for the citizens." Again he bleats: "I do not assert that our officials would not resist the temptation." Once more he bleats: "The gas commissioners do not need any praise from me, but I feel obliged to say that I have always found them conscientious, careful, honorable, and able men." (Page 30.) Has it come to this? A government official able! A government official careful! A government official honorable! A government official conscientious! To think that the water board who have such a chance to wash their hands should be so filthy, and the gas commissioners who are so likely to smut their hands with coke should be so clean! Have you brought them any of your balm, Mr. Greenough, that you think it necessary to praise them so? If not, if they truly are the able, honest men you say, they are just the men we want. They who are so able and so honest as gas commissioners, will doubtless be equally able and honest as a gas board. Is this, treacherous dragon, one of your attempts to blow hot and cold at the same time? But we forget you are a sheep. Now one bleat more. "When the citizens of the Commonwealth really wish such a measure, when they have made up their minds to try the experiment, they will appear here, and when they ask for it, they will get it." (Page 7.) O, Mr. Greenough, how easy it is to mistake our friends. We thought you one of those beings not yet developed from the polypus state, whose whole philosophy is centered in their own maw. We thought you one of those wretches who call evil good and good evil, and justify the wicked for reward. We thought you one of those hired lackeys, lost to manliness, who get their living licking their master's boots, and who after degrading themselves for their master's sake in every way, are liable to be kicked in the ribs, and sent about their business. But we were mistaken. Dropping your painted dragon's head, which at first we thought was yours; dropping your sheep's head, which we certainly thought was yours, you appear with your own proper head; finally you stand forth as a man; you stand forth as a prophet, and write your words upon the skies: "When the cities have made up their minds to do it, they will ask for it, and they will get it." Blessings upon you, Mr. Greenough. We

have misunderstands each other; now everything is clear. Shake hands, old fellow, we are friends at last.

And now, my brother and sister Nationalists, you who think that the Republic is the one eternal thing that will outlast all other forms of government; you who think that republican institutions have gone but half their journey yet; you who think that present society, astride of its own neck, a monstrous compound of "Sinbad the sailor and the old man of the mountain," is not the ideal form of a democracy; you who think that republican institutions were not established in this country for the purpose of suppressing the further growth of republican institutions; you who believe that the descendants of those who began this republic, may perhaps know how to finish the great work; you who believe that to place in the hands of the people the industries now necessary to civilized life, making the people industrially equal, is to complete the half-finished republic; you who believe that public works are a school of politics of absorbing interest; that the more our industries are placed in the hands of the people, the more care and attention the people will give to their administration, the more they will be drawn to act for the public weal, the more will the public works be criticized, the more will officials, anxious to distinguish themselves, endeavour to carry out improvements, the more will inventors be encouraged and the public benefited; you who believe that private monopolies, after a certain point, are no longer progressive, that to benefit the people is not their primary object, that the great vital industries should be controlled by scientific men, working for the public good, and not by traders bent only on their own enrichment; you who mark how hand in hand corporations and corruptions grow together; how massing the wealth in the hands of a few must, of necessity, produce demoralization and slavery among the many; how our government, the pride of our hearts, basely bows its majestic head; the obedient servant of private interests; you who mean by liberty not an equal chance of tyrannizing over others, but an equal chance to benefit mankind; you who hold that the duty of government is to suppress force and fraud; you who hold that the tyranny of private monopoly is more heavy, more outrageous, more intolerable than the tyranny of any government of king or nobles; lift where you stand, lift all together, and heave this incubus from the breast of the nation.



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THE

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*

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AN ARTFUL INCIDENT.

What decided us to do it I cannot tell, selfishness perhaps, but after much discussion we sallied forth one afternoon, a valiant little party of four, to invade the residence of a gentleman, a perfect stranger, who had a beautiful collection of paintings which we were very anxious to see. The way led through green lanes and verdurous alleys and we enjoyed our walk, though we arrived with dusty feet before the noble mansion containing the paintings.

"I wish we had a letter of introduction to explain that we are not tramps!" exclaimed *mater-familias*, as we rang the door-bell, and when the door opened a moment later, we all felt a passing tremor akin to the pangs of the poor fellow who comes to the back gate with "a piece-of-bread-for-the-love-of-God-lady" written all over him. An enquiry for Mr. A. developed the fact that the gentleman was at home, but at dinner.

"Well," explained *mater-familias*, insinuatingly, "we came to ask permission to see his pictures. Will you request him to grant us just a moment's interview?"

The maid looked at us an instant and then, as we did not have the appearance of thieves or burglars, actually invited us, while she called our host, into the library where hung the larger portion of the very paintings of which we were in search. Such luck! No, it seemed to us rather a special intervention of divine providence in our favor and we forgot for awhile what unpardonable intruders we were, as the genius of the great artist enfolded us and we gradually distinguished the various elements of the feast spread upon the walls before us. There were the *Farmyard by Moonlight*, *The Diggers*, *The Cottage Interior*, *The Noonday Rest*. Here was a glimpse of dandelions and green grass, but all were filled with that pathos of peasant life which Millet painted not so much from love of his theme, as from his appreciation of the passion and sorrow in it.

Presently we started! The door opened and the master of the house entered! Coming back suddenly to the world of realities, we explained our presence in his house, feeling very much like culprits brought up before the head-master for punishment. The head-master in the present instance, however, was a gentleman, and made us welcome courteously, which, of course, did not quiet our consciences in the least. He gave us permission to remain in the library as long as we pleased to look at the pictures, adding, however:

“I am sorry I cannot let you go into the dining-room, where the other paintings hang. The family are at dinner and we have a guest with us.”

Now we knew that in the dining-room there were Corots of a magnificent quality, and suspected the presence there of Millet's lovely *Potato-Droppers*, which we had not yet seen. So, in the midst of our thanks for present privileges, we ventured to insinuate the suggestion that we might return again another day, and see the dining-room without disturbing the family. Our long-suffering host did not refuse our request, but methinks he registered a vow tending to the exclusion of future respectable-looking visitors who should come un-announced, and he returned to us shortly with permission to inspect the dining-room, as the guests had retired. With very uncomfortable thoughts we passed into the coveted apartment which had evidently been hastily vacated, but we instantly forgot our chagrin at the discomfort we had caused, for here were the exquisite Corots and the beautiful *Potato-Droppers*. We stayed longer than we were expected to in that dining-room, I am afraid, though not nearly as long as we wished, and were reminded at length that our visit was being too prolonged by the entrance of a servant to remove the dessert from the table. Feeling that we must not impose our intrusive presence longer upon the household, we departed, joyous over what we had seen, sorrowful at its cost, for had not our pleasure put a family to discomfort, and invaded that privacy which should be the right of all, under the most republican of governments?

The adventure could hardly fail to set us to thinking somewhat about the existing state of things, and our rights and privileges in this humdrum world. We could not but reflect upon the joy that might be ours if we should go back and study to our satisfaction the Millets we had seen so hastily, and there was a dim sense of existing injustice in the conviction that the intrusion, which had made it possible to see them once, must not be repeated. At the same time we could not blame Mr. A., in the pres-

ent stage of art progress for surrounding himself with beautiful things. He loved them, and must buy them if he wished to enjoy them, while no rational person would expect him to make his house a thoroughfare for idle people, who might come to gaze at his pictures simply because they had nothing else to do. Neither could one reproach him exactly for hanging his treasures where they might be enjoyed constantly, and where their lovely influence would be upon him whatever he was doing. We had a resentful consciousness, however, that the world needs the open presence of just such Millets as we had been looking at. The art instinct grows by what it feeds on, and nothing is so sure to make artists, — aside from that beautiful clear atmosphere which in Attica and Italy probably had much to do with the art flower of those two regions, — as the constant observation of beautiful forms and colors.

A man may live and die without consciousness of the creative power dormant within him, if he never sees anything which rouses his sleeping sensitiveness, and helps him to know that in his own fingers lies a force which can call new loveliness to life. Such pictures as Millet's are full of just this inspiration. They set one to thinking, they rouse the soul and while not at all provocative of school-painting, like those of Fortuny, for instance, they incite to endeavor more generously, by their nobility of treatment and depth of intention. No intellectual worker is so hampered in his influence by the laws of private property as the artist. He above all others should work for the nation's market, for as his production cannot be duplicated and disseminated through the populace in cheapened and accessible forms, it should be placed where all can have easy entrance to it. The Greeks realized this, and employed their artists on public work that stood in the open air and before the eyes of all men, with results which the wonderful art development of Greece quickly showed. What would not the art world have lost, if Phidias instead of adorning the Parthenon had exhausted his genius upon the private palace of an Athenian nobleman, hedged from the outer world by sentiments and conventions more irrefragable than steel bars? And what the art world of today, of America not least, would gain, if the works of our Millets and Corots, our Delacroix, Tadmás, Baryes hung in great galleries with open doors, where the sons and daughters of the universe could pass freely in and out and stand face to face with them!

The last blissful prospect suggested another point. Supposing national patronage of art became universal, it would cease to be a matter of course

for our wealthy men to surround themselves with the works of the masters for their own individual delectation. The spirit of brotherly love keeping pace with the art instinct, a man would prefer to hang his artistic acquisition where others could have access to it and enjoy it with him. He would prefer to hear the criticism of his friends and acquaintances upon it and their praises would add zest to his pleasure. Therefore, he would hang his purchase in the National gallery, happy in thus having added an element to the National art culture, or better still perhaps he would gather his gleanings from the world of art in an apartment devoted to them alone to which art lovers could have free entrance at all times. He would feel then, what men cannot realize now, that it is a species of absolute theft to take from the world the production of a supreme genius, and use it for private pleasure.

The work of a great artist is not for individual use: it is a part of humanity. It registers the progress and thought of the race, and belongs to mankind as much as their own radiance does to the stars. What right then has one human being to buy it and shut it up? All the gold in the universe could not pay for it, and the man who secludes it deprives each one of his fellows thereby of a portion of humanity's progress and divinity.

MARY H. FORD.

TILL JUSTICE—

Etruria, Etruria, the shades are fallen o'er thy head;
Where are thy mighty sons of yore? Long dead are they, long dead.

Why sitt'st thou 'mong the ruins dark? Thy pride and power, why are they fled?
"Because those helméd ones are not," saith Silence, in her stead.

Thine eyes that once from sea to sea triumphant cast their lightnings round,
Too proud to weep—perhaps, too grieved—now ponder on the ground.

Say, Muse, shall then Etruscan night fall on all nations as on men?
And shall their mother never raise her drooping head again?

"Yea, night shall fall on every race; the spoils their hands and minds have won
Avail not; every one shall die:—till justice shall be done."

ARTHUR HILDRETH.

STEP BY STEP.

It often happens in literature that he who giveth his life saveth it. When a writer forgets the doctrine of art for art's sake, and writes for a great purpose, he sometimes achieves a success beyond expectation. This was the case when Mrs. Stowe wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and Mrs. Helen Jackson wrote "Ramona;" but there never was a more striking instance of it than when Edward Bellamy wrote "Looking Backward." His previous books "Dr. Heidenhof's Process" and "Miss Ludington's Sister" had shown a power of pure and creative imagination unsurpassed since Hawthorne; they indeed were worthy of Hawthorne, except that Bellamy had not the power of that great artist in dissolving his vision at the end of the book and coming back to the light of common day. But when he wrote "Looking Backward" he forgot all art and conscious imagination itself in his eagerness for a new social world; he wrote, in a manner, beyond himself; and the rise of the "Nationalist" movement is the direct reflection of that book. He has created a band of young proselytes who, instead of believing that what he says is too good to be true, believe that it is too good not to be true; and are ready to proclaim its teachings as at least a temporary gospel of good news.

One sign of moderation and good sense in these advocates is that they are willing to create a sort of "half-way covenant" or "anxious seat" in their new tabernacle, for the reception of those who are by no means full converts, but simply looking Zion-ward. For myself, there is much in "Looking Backward" which I am not yet prepared to accept; but the aspect of thought opened by it is one upon which it seems very desirable that every thinking man should question himself. It was brought up, before Mr. Bellamy's book had seen the light, by the discussions between Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley in England; and has indeed appeared in our political discussions, in this country, ever since the time of Jefferson. Should the sphere of government be increased or diminished? Is socialism or individualism the true current of the time? In England the socialistic tendency, not of speculative opinion but of actual legislation, is so marked that Spencer calls it "The Coming Slavery:" while he, in opposing it, has to go so far in the other direction that Huxley christens the Spencerian doctrine "Administrative Nihilism." Spencer claims to have first pointed out in 1860 the dangers he now more emphatically urges; his four essays collected under the title "*The Man versus the*

State” were published in the Contemporary Review in 1884; and Mr. William Clark of London has shown, in a valuable paper on “Socialism in English Politics” in the “Political Science Quarterly” of Columbia College for December 1888, that all the tendencies deprecated by Spencer have gone on steadily increasing in England since he wrote.

On the other hand, Prof. A. T. Hadley of Yale College, in the same number of this last-named periodical, has printed an able paper on “Public Business Management” in which he shows conclusively that the same question of policy must be met face to face in this country also. He also formulates the matter more simply and clearly, for the American community at least, than has yet been done by anyone else. “The protest against the power of capital” he says “has an inevitable effect in extending the functions of the state. Modern life demands organized business action. There are two great organizations, either one of which can manage it — organized capital and organized government. If a business is taken out of the hands of one, it almost necessarily falls into the hands of the other.” (p. 572) There could hardly be a terser or stronger statement of the logical alternative, which now confronts us all.

Nor this alone, but Prof. Hadley, writing from a conservative standpoint, concedes an increased tendency towards this public control which he offers as an alternative. “America” he says, “is the only important country where the telegraph is still in private hands. State railroads have ceased to be an exception and are now the almost universal rule in Central Europe. The municipalities have generally taken control of the water-works and not unfrequently of gas-works. In short, there has been a tendency on the part of governments to assume the ownership of such industrial monopolies as lay within their reach. *No one can tell where this process will stop.*” (Italics my own) He then goes on to say that manufacturing enterprise is so developing as to tend towards becoming a series of monopolies; and it is possible that there may yet be a disposition to extend state control to them.

Prof. Hadley opposes all this tendency, but he recognizes it; and it is shown quite as strongly in a direction which he does not mention, that of public school education. Nothing seems to Herbert Spencer more objectionable than that “A should be responsible for educating B’s offspring;” and the objections to it hardly seem stronger to him than they did to the eminent American lawyer, Charles O’Connor, when writing his essay on “Democracy” in Johnson’s Cyclopædia, some fifteen years ago.

Yet those years have seen an enormous expansion of the free-school system over the whole American Union; and they have seen it so applied in some of the most advanced states of the Union as to be far more socialistic than before, by supplying text-books at the public expense. They have seen the system extended, in all the newer states, to university education itself; and its application to industrial training now seems only a question of time and degree. The development goes on so naturally and spontaneously that each step seems inevitable. But what becomes, meanwhile of Mr. Spencer's "administrative nihilism" or even of the old Jeffersonian motto, "That is the best government which governs the least"?

In this critical divergence of two tendencies, it seems to me that every thinking person ought to make up his mind on which side to throw his influence, whatever it may be — whether with those who propose to extend the sphere of government, or with those who wish to restrict it. To be severely logical, it would seem that one must either oppose all free schools and public post-offices, on the one side; or must go as far as Edward Bellamy does on the other. But if one is not prepared to be so logical as this — and I confess that I am not — one may at least make up his mind which way the general tendency of things is, and act accordingly. For one, I have made up my mind that the tendency of events is now towards Nationalism — or State Socialism, if you please — and am prepared to go a few steps farther, at any rate, in that direction.

In one respect it is easier for an older man to be a reformer than for younger men — because he recalls the time when the very institutions which are now universally accepted were resisted as innovations or regarded as still on trial. In going before the Legislature of Massachusetts, last winter, to urge that towns should be allowed to supply their own gas or electricity, if they pleased, as they now supply their own water, I was struck with the fact that the arguments against the measure, point by point, were just such as used to be urged when the water from Lake Cochituate was introduced into Boston. So in regard to public telegraphic communication. I can remember when Lysander Spooner, who first urged cheap postage in this country, undertook to send letters himself between New York and Boston at a much lower rate than the government's price, and for a time succeeded in doing it. I can remember when Wells, Fargo & Co. practically took the conveyance of letters out of the hands of the Post-office department, in the early days of California. It is now hard to believe that such a state of things ever existed. It will, one

day, be as hard to believe that the towns and cities of Massachusetts were not allowed to manufacture their own gas and electricity in 1889 even if they desired it ; and that the public tolerated the telegraph companies in charging me thirty cents for ten words sent from Boston to my house in Cambridge—four and a half miles—when the government sent me any number of words in a special delivery letter, more promptly, for twelve cents.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

FOR THE FUTURE.

Turn, turn from the cave's dark hollow ! look up to the light and see,
 Though thine eyes be dazed in the glory, the man that is yet to be !
 Time's wings are at pause beside him, and calm is his heart's strong beat,
 And the dust of these old dominions is flowerful round his feet.
 Exult, we have won the midway, and the light has scared the gloom,
 And we smile at the old sad sentence, we are freed from the endless doom.
 Not heirs of a forfeit Godhead, degenerate, waning away,
 But climbing, and all too slowly, from darkness into the day.
 There is light in my eyes of dawning, of a fair world weary of sleep,
 I see the new peopling islands, dominions over the deep,
 Away to the ancient forests, and the wilds that are yet unwon,
 Where the envious growth of creepers goes rivalling up to the sun ;
 Where the streams of the orient land roll out through their gates of gold,
 Where the dizziest mountain summits were shrines of the faiths of old,
 Where the well of the desert waters gives life to the lonely tree,
 Where the tent of the turbaned nomad is set by the inland sea.
 From the zone of the torrid summers to the uttermost ways of snow,
 From the inland-men to the island-men, shall the greeting of good-will go :
 Peace, peace on the earth for ever, and we all forgotten so long,
 But the air that they breathe is holy because of our sighs and song.
 And their maids shall be pure as morning, their youth shall be taught no lie,
 But the way shall be smooth and open for all men under the sky ;
 They will build their new romances, new dreams of a world to be,
 Conceive a sublimer out-come than the end of the world we see,
 And the shadow shall pass we dwell in, till under the self-same sun
 The names of the myriad nations are writ in the name of one.

RENNELL RODD.

CATCHING THE TRAIN.—No. 2.

COMPETITION.

ARRIVING PASSENGER.—Here we are again. Step into the waiting-room. Put down your traps. Say now. How are we to get on without competition? Why, that's the life of trade! It makes a man ambitious; sharpens his faculties. Now an old experienced drummer like you ought to see this.

DEPARTING PASSENGER.—I see that making a man ambitious and sharpening his faculties may not necessarily be a benefit. A burglar's business sharpens his faculties; and ambition for place and power often leads to despicable acts. That common saying, "competition's the life of trade," has no weight unless it can be shown that the trade system thus kept alive is desirable. Also, if a principle is good, it is good universally applied; the more of it the better. The object of competition in business is individual money gain. If the principle is all right, why it is right that every man secure as much of the trade as his sharpened faculties can bring in, no matter how many are left without, and that he make all possible profit. For the latter he must sell his goods at the highest possible prices, irrespective of quality, and buy them at the lowest possible prices, irrespective of what they cost the producer in time and toil. A competitor in the underclothing business cleared ten thousand dollars in one year. By his sharpened faculties he got the clothing made at starvation prices. This kind of a thing is a part of that trade system which gets its life from competition. So is adulteration of goods. All who live by the system have to come under its conditions. No dealer who would pay a fair price to the makers of underclothing could compete with the ten thousand dollar man. No manufacturer of pure cream o'tartar could compete with one who *extends* his with white clay.

A. P.—Well—you know this kind of thing is rather taken for granted, and nothing compels the women to take the work.

D. P.—Nothing but a natural desire to keep out of the grave. But is not the community cheated with all this clay and sand, and bone dust and stewed leather thrust upon them? And don't you see the effect on character of being satisfied with imperfection, of having dishonesty and greed and injustice taken for granted? Is it not a positive harm to the ten thousand dollar man that he be made willing to enjoy luxury at such

human sacrifice? Are not our palatial clothing and other establishments based on a species of cannibalism? I submit that to glorify trade and serve it forever is not the chief end of existence. Suppose a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul. Suppose the ten thousand dollar man by increased devotion to business, and more sharpening of the faculties, and more greed, and more grinding of the poor, and by putting poorer goods on the market makes the ten thousand ten millions, would this bring him any real good? Would it not rather cause him the loss of all that is most valuable in a man? And this is not all. Those who achieve wealth by means of the competition principle help greatly in fixing the standard of respectability and of morality and of success. The names of these stand out on the lists of prominent citizens. Their multitudes of employés, and others, look upon them as examples of a successful life, study their methods, and hope or wish for similar success. Don't you see how it harms character to thus lower the standards?

A. P.—Oh! but that's another thing. That's sentiment. That'll do for sermons. We are on practical subjects.

D. P.—I tell you, man, that character is king of the nation. It rules everything and everywhere. What is a nation made of? Individuals. And every individual of them is controlled by his character. Has he wealth, talents, faculties, learning, skill, genius, time, opportunities, influence, position? The use made of these is determined by his character rather than by his intellect. The ugly things which crowd the newspapers, the cheats, frauds, embezzlements, betrayals of trust, election wickedness, corruption in high places, lobbyism, legislative bribery, injustice in law making, caste-pride, political trickery, the social evil, what comes of rivalry for official place and power, all these are but so much character appearing in conduct. Surely these are practical matters. Greed for gain induced a man in Chicago to so compete in the grain trade as to make a fortune daily and to cause many failures. One of the smaller dealers in complaining of "old Hutch" added, "but we all do the same thing so far as we can. 'Tis a part of the business. I should like to make the prices of grain rise with it on my hands." Higher prices mean dearer bread, a very practical matter to the poor.

A. P. (*doubtfully*).—Yes,—still, it does seem as if this character matter is something for the minister to attend to. But say now; what would you have? Have business men quit competition and—be good?

D. P.—They cannot do it. The present system demands competition. Under it they cannot be good, for competition is in and of itself bad.

A. P.—Oh, you cannot mean that! (*Never mind your bag.*) You cannot mean it is bad always and in any form and for any purpose!

D. P.—I do mean exactly that.

A. P.—Why, there would be no spur to excellence. Everything would deteriorate in quality.

D. P.—Now, think a moment. Can you not imagine the doing of a thing well for the sake of doing it well? A painter, for instance, who would make his picture show the perfection of art, with no idea of money or fame but just for art's sake; not trying to excel any other artist, but to excel himself, ever attaining higher and higher degrees of perfection: the same of a musician, of an architect, of an author, of any producer? You are a newspaper man, think what a newspaper we may have when a money competition no longer compels catering to low tastes, and when its columns are no longer filled with accounts of depravity caused by competition for wealth, or power, or official position. Think of the loss the community now sustains by reason of that competition which compels many producers to forego excellence in the general scramble for gain.

A. P.—But where could competition begin to leave off? It is the first thing taught in a family of children, "See who will do it best or quickest." Then at school this same thing is kept up.

D. P.—Yes, I know. Rivalry, which works such harm in after life, is learned in childhood. This is a blunder of home and school-educators. With our little flock at home we should try to encourage each one to excel its ownself. Rivalry always tends to excite envy and jealousy and to kill love.

A. P.—But suppose it is a rivalry in doing good, as—as in collecting for the Johnstown people, what do you say to that?

D. P.—I say that in doing even a good action any consideration of self, as of self's smartness, self's superiority, self's ability as compared with that of others is a kind of self glorification which takes from the merit of the deed. Let the striving be for excellence, not for superiority over others. In avoiding a fault seen in the work of others, the aim should still be excellence, not that one self should do better than some other self.

A. P.—But taking people as they are, would they strive for just excellence?

D. P.—Many would. But, as I said the other day, do not argue from present conditions after the manner of our not very remote ancestors who

objected to steam travel because steam could never pull a train, and because the locomotive would lessen property value by scaring the cattle, and because the sheep trade would suffer by the blackening of the wool from the soot of the smokestack. There go the passengers from the in-train, but I must say this. Conditions are to be changed. I will say how at another time. *Keep the standard high.* We don't want to trail it down in the dust to meet conditions, but bring conditions up to the standard. Many of the present ones result from competition based on greed, avarice, envy, selfishness, unworthy ambition for place or power. To say that these must always exist is to say that evil is stronger than good. This is a libel on God. It is rank infidelity. There is the warning bell. My books, please. There is so much to read nowadays! Good bye!

ABBY MORTON DIAZ.

IN THE STATION.

She sat at the telegraph window, a woman of fifty years,
Who had cause, perhaps, in her life of toil for as many thousand tears;

And there bloomed beside her a vase of pinks, white, with a spicy smell,
When a poet came who, though small in fame, loved women and flowers right well.

He lifted the flowers to his gifted nose and drank of their odour fine,
While the woman's eyes with a glad surprise took a sudden, summery shine.

"Would you like one?" she said, and he bowed his head, as one to a queen might bow;
"They were lovely, indeed," he murmured low, "but they're doubly beautiful now."

He pinned a pink to his old blue coat and a gay smile flushed his face,
As bowing and vowing "A thousand thanks," he passed from that hurrying place.

He jumped on a car and the thundering train from the station rolled away:
But over its bass, in that poet's brain, strange melodies seemed at play.

And his joyous voice in that woman's heart made vivid some vanished hours,
When life to her was a summer dream and this world, a world of flowers:—

A world of violets, roses, pinks, with rarer and fairer things
Such as bloom for a moment 'twixt warm young lips, yet whose perfume forever clings.

Now the story here, 'tis exceeding clear, is as simple as e'er was sung—
Yet such trifles prove, tho' the ages move, that the human heart stays young.

H. WYCOMBE.

MORE OR LESS INHUMANITY.

The question of the Nationalization of Industries will be settled as soon as men come to realize that at the heart it is an ethical question. Of course many will not see the matter in this way: it is to them simply a question of expediency. They will not admit there is any question of right or wrong, justice or injustice about the matter, and they would settle it by an appeal to the pocket, not to the conscience. But rightly viewed the present "Social Question" will be seen to link itself on to a number of other problems which men have been called on to solve and which, as we look back on them now, are clearly seen to have been all along ethical questions: questions, that is, of more or less inhumanity; which were settled by an appeal to the conscience, and not to the pocket. No doubt the common pocket has been the gainer by it: for, incredible as it may seem to some, in the long run it is found that humanity pays, and inhumanity is ruinously expensive.

Perhaps the best way to show this is by a succession of pictures of what is at this day going on in different parts of the world. These pictures will help to bring near enough in thought (for us to see they belong to a common class) some things that may at first seem radically different. I shall give the pictures as nearly as possible in the language of the eye-witnesses who have brought them to the knowledge of the public.

The first is taken from a description of the African Slave Trade as recently seen by Mr. H. F. Moir of New York State: "When the slaves are captured they are taken to the head-quarters of the east coast traders. Then a yoke is placed about their necks and is allowed to remain night and day without being once taken off. The constant rubbing upon the neck chafes the skin, and gradually ugly wounds begin to fester under the burning African sunshine. The yoke is a young tree with forked branches. It is generally about five or six feet long, and from three to four inches in diameter. One which I examined was about twenty-eight pounds in weight, but I am told that refractory slaves are often placed in yokes weighing fifty pounds or more. The end of the yoke is lashed to the corresponding end of another yoke, in the back of which another slave is held, and thus the poor creatures have to walk, carrying besides this intolerable weight a load of provisions or ivory slung across the centre of the pole. The women slaves are all fastened to chains or thick bark ropes. Very many of them in addition to the heavy weight of grain or ivory carry

their little brown babies. The double weight is almost too much, but they struggle wearily on, knowing too well that when they show signs of fatigue, not the slaver's ivory, but the living child, will be torn from them and thrown aside to die. The slaves do not keep up long under their burdens. They march all day, and at night, when they stop, a few handfuls of raw sorgho are distributed among them, and this is all their food. As soon as any begin to fail, their conductors approach those who appear to be most exhausted, and deal them a terrible blow on the nape of the neck. A single cry and the victims fall to the ground in the convulsions of death."

It will be observed that this is a picture of an *industry* as carried on today in Africa. Doubtless the slave-dealer would be very incensed if he were interfered with in a business which seems to him legitimate and right, by any appeal to humanity, and that sort of rubbish. It might be all very well (if it were possible) to keep baby and ivory too: but if the question were "baby or ivory?" why, business is business to the slave dealer.

The second picture is taken from a description of the Convict Mines of Kara by Mr. George Kennan in the *June Century*. It seems the very Christian Czar of Russia owns gold mines in Kara which he works by convicts. Mr. Kennan's description shows how the Czar houses his workmen. He says: "We ascended two or three steps incrustated with an indescribable coating of filth and ice an inch and a half thick, and entered through a heavy plank door a long, low and very dark corridor, the broken and decaying floor of which felt wet and slippery to the feet, and where the atmosphere although warm was very damp and saturated with the strong peculiar odor that is characteristic of Siberian prisons. A person who has once inhaled that odor can never forget it: and yet it is so unlike any other bad smell in the world that I hardly know with what to compare it. I can ask you to imagine cellar air, every atom of which has been half a dozen times through human lungs and is heavy with carbonic acid; to imagine that air still further vitiated by foul, pungent, slightly ammoniacal exhalations from long unwashed human bodies; to imagine that it has a suggestion of damp, decaying wood and more than a suggestion of human excrement — and still you have no adequate idea of it. To unaccustomed senses it seems so saturated with foulness and disease as to be almost insupportable. The Cossack Corporal who preceded us threw open the heavy wooden door of the first Kamera and shouted 'Smirno,' — 'Be quiet.' We stepped across the threshold into a room about twenty-four feet long, twenty-two feet wide, and eight feet high which contained

twenty-nine convicts. The air here was so much worse than the air in the corridor that it made me faint and sick. The room was lighted by two nearly square, heavily grated windows with double sashes, that could not be raised or opened, and there was not the least apparent provision anywhere for ventilation. The walls of the Kamera were of squared logs and had once been whitewashed; but they had become dark and grimy from lapse of time, and were blotched in hundreds of places with dull red blood-stains where the convicts had crushed bed-bugs. The floor was made of heavy planks, and although it had been recently swept, it was incrustated with dry hard-trodden filth. Out from the walls, on three sides of the room projected low sloping platforms about six feet wide upon which the convicts slept, side by side, in closely packed rows, with their heads to the walls and their feet extended towards the middle of the cell. They had neither pillows nor blankets and were compelled to lie down upon these sleeping benches at night without removing their clothing and without other covering than their coarse gray overcoats. The cell contained no furniture of any kind except these sleeping platforms, the brick oven and a large wooden tub."

"But what has all this to do with Nationalism?"

Wait a moment. Remember these are pictures of what is taking place in this world of ours today: they are pictures, too, of just such scenes as were once common among nations that would now no longer tolerate them; but above all they are pictures of what takes place under certain systems, which with us have happily become obsolete; and they give only the natural and necessary results of those systems. Rightly interpreted they make us feel the inhumanity of the systems themselves.

Now let us look at another picture which will show us what takes place just as naturally under another system. The scene is laid in New York. The speaker is a mother telling how she and her daughter live. They are working-women engaged in making clothes. Contractors grow rich on the labors of such women, and Christian purchasers exclaim over the garments which they make: "Why, really these things are wonderfully reasonable!" Are they indeed so? Let us give heed to this working woman's words, before we acquiesce.

"It might have been better to go to the country, but you see I wasn't used to the country and then any work I could get to do was right here. I'd always liked to sew, so had Emeline, and we found we could get regular work on children's suits, with skirts and such things in the dull seasons-

It was good pay and we were comfortable till prices began to fall. We made fifteen dollars a week sometimes, and could have got ahead if it hadn't been for a little debt of my husband's that I wanted to pay, for we'd never owed anybody a penny, and I couldn't let even that debt stand against his name. But when it was paid, somehow I came down with rheumatic fever, and I've never got back my full strength yet. And the prices kept going down. Emmy is an expert. I never knew her to make a mistake, but working twelve and fourteen hours a day,—and it's most often fourteen, the most she has made for more than a year and a half is eighty-five cents a day, and on that we've managed. I suppose we couldn't if I ever went out, but I've had no shoes in two years. I patch the ones I got then with one of my husband's old coats, and keep along, but we never get ahead enough for me to have shoes, and Emmy too, and she's the one that has to go out. How do we live? It's all in this little book. It's foolish to put it down, and yet I always somehow liked to see how the money went, even when I had plenty, and its second nature to put down every cent. Take last month. It had twenty-seven working days: \$22.95. Out of that we took first the \$10 for rent, I've been here eleven years, and they've raised a dollar on me twice. That leaves \$12.95 a month for provisions and coal and light and clothes. 'Tisn't much for two people, is it? You wouldn't think it could be done, would you? Well, it is, and here's the expense for one week and for what we eat:—

Sugar, 23; Tomatoes, 7; Potatoes, 5	\$0.35
Tea, 15; Butter, 30; Bread, 12	0.57
Coal, 12; Milk, 15; Clams, 10	0.37
Oil, 15; Paper, 1; Clams, 10; Potatoes, 5	0.31
Cabbage, 5; Bread, 7; Flour, 15; Rolls, 3	0.30
Total,	\$1.90

You see there's no meat. We like it, but we only get a bit on Sundays sometimes. The coal ought not to be in with the food, ought it, unless it stays because I have to use it cooking: we oughtn't to spend so much on food, but I can't seem to make it less. Really when you take out the coal and oil and the paper,—and we do want to see a paper sometimes—it is only \$1.62 for us both; 81 cents a piece; almost 12 cents a day. If it weren't for Emmy's missing me, it would be better for me to die, for I'm no use, you see, and times get no better, but worse. But I can't and we must get along somehow. Lord help us all!"

What shall we say of an industrial system that makes it possible for

women to work for fourteen hours a day and live on twelve cents? It will of course be said that in the first place the case is exceptional, and in the next place that the system has nothing to do with it. But in the first place the case is not exceptional; for in every large city in the land there are thousands of workers in just such circumstances as these. Of course the average is much better than this case. God pity us if it were not. But we are not talking about averages but about facts. It is a very poor philosophy that solaces itself with mere averages.

But in the next place admitting that such extreme cases are exceptional I do not see how any reasonable man can deny that such cases are true natural results of our present industrial system: and more than this, where the results are different from this they are so from other causes and not from the system itself.

"*What other causes?*" Just this, my friend and brother, that man is not wholly a brute. The present industrial system says, "Get all you can for as little as you must give" which I take to be a wholly brutal doctrine: and if any other than brutal results come along with it sometimes, let us be glad that it is because human nature is not quite brutal enough to carry the system always to its natural and necessary consequences. Men will become advocates of the better system of Nationalism as they recognize these facts.

PHILO W. SPRAGUE.

GOOD - BYE.

(TO A CHILD.)

Good-night, and wings of angels beat round your little bed,
And all white hopes and holy be on your golden head!

You know not why I love you, you little lips that kiss;
But if you should remember, remember me with this:

HE said that the longest journey was all on the road to rest;
HE said the children's wisdom was the wisest and the best;

HE said there was joy in sorrow far more than the tears in mirth,
And HE knew there was God in heaven, because there was Love on earth.

RENNELL RODD.

A REPLY TO DR. HEBER NEWTON.

Every Nationalist, I think, ought to feel highly gratified at the form in which Dr. Heber Newton has embodied his criticism of "Nationalism" in the July *Dawn*. I think so, because the incidental parts of this contribution appear to me far more important and suggestive, and will have far more weight with outsiders than the criticism itself, for the simple reason that though the doctor, as he says, "has for years been preaching and writing in the spirit" of our movement, this is the first clear and outspoken declaration on his part, that he is working towards the same goal and in the same lines as we are. This in itself is a most cheering and promising fact. Indeed, ever since I became aware of the Nationalist and Christian Socialist movements, I have considered this awakening of the conscience of our land as a most auspicious commencement of the second century of our National existence, and the adhesion of every such leader of conscience as Dr. Newton must give a momentous weight to these movements.

But, as far as the criticism itself is concerned, I think Dr. Newton is decidedly mistaken, and I trust I shall be pardoned, if I mention in passing, that the first reading of it involuntarily brought to my mind the fable of the man with his ass, who, no matter whether he walked alongside, or rode the ass, or carried it himself, could not satisfy the critical passers-by. For hitherto the great objection to socialism, as taught by foreigners, has been on the part of Americans that it was entirely too vague and indefinite, but now when practical Americans have taken part of this doctrine, widened it, added to it and put it into practical shape, Dr. Newton comes and declares that "to harness the social aspiration to the task of nationalizing industries," as is done in the "Principles" of the Nationalist Clubs, is highly dangerous.

My first reply to this is that, in my opinion, the criticism, as it was first made, was well-taken. I have always thought that the conclusive reason why socialism, which made such strides on the continent of Europe, made comparatively little impression on Americans lay in the fact that only its destructive and critical features were emphasized while its constructive sides were altogether neglected. In this respect the minds of Germans and Frenchmen and those of Americans are entirely different. Prove to the theoretical German mind that our present system is unjust or merely illogical, and he will immediately favor abolishing it and replacing

it with something better. Socialism, as we know, has for years been advocated by Germans both here and in England, and these German teachers very naturally employed the arguments that had been so effective at home. But these arguments were here as ineffective as water poured on a duck's back. Let a given system be proven ever so unjust, the practical American is unwilling to meddle with it, unless an improved model is shown to him. For that reason my concern has been for years to put the critical features of this reform movement in the background, and to lay stress on the co-operative commonwealth which it wants to put in place of the Established Disorder. That this is the right way of proceeding here is proven by the wonderful impression made by the ideal picture in *Looking Backward*.

But Dr. Newton's principal grievance—I trust the expression is not offensive—is that this ideal picture is one drawn from "State Socialism" so-called and that the ideal of those "socialists who look forward simply to vast free institutions of labor and capital united" is neglected. It is impossible to put any other construction on this sentence, than that Dr. Newton thinks Anarchism entitled to as much consideration as "State Socialism"; that he, in fact, regrets that the Nationalist Club is not committed to such latitude as would include Anarchism. This, on the other hand, is in my opinion the great merit of the Nationalists. If ever I have wished to get rid of the name "Socialist" it always has been from a desire to be forever dissociated from the "Anarchists" and I hailed the name "Nationalist" with delight because it enabled me to effect the separation.

The fact is, that Anarchism while historically it may perhaps be classed with Socialism, is not the least socialistic in spirit, but is quite the contrary; its spirit is purely individualistic. It is of the very nature of collectivism or scientific socialism to aim at procuring freedom and leisure for all citizens by collectively controlling all social activities for the collective benefit and submitting everyone to all necessary rules; but Anarchism claims for everyone the right to do just as he pleases; it will not brook the least interference with, or limitation of, its idol "liberty"; it claims for everyone a right of abusing as well as using. It is very easy to show to any reasonable person, that in that way it will destroy and make impossible that very "liberty" which it idolizes. The only liberty worth having is that which gives us a power of which the principal element is leisure to develop all our faculties. Leisure can only be had by utilizing our various

machinery; that can be utilized only in concert by having some as the directors of Labor, as administrators, and by submitting to rules. But Anarchism wants to discard all authority, even self-elected. It will know of no rules. Anarchism is thus, even if anybody could tell us how to work it, absolutely reactionary; it would if realized bring back the time of the Middle Ages, when everyone worked for himself with his own primitive tools, that is, it turns back the wheels of progress and will once more lengthen the working day to thirteen or fourteen hours. Indeed, I must state it as my conviction that while Dr. Newton has a big heart,—a Nationalistic heart,—he is evidently at sea on the phases of collectivism.

Then Dr. Newton again shows a misconception when he opposes “municipalization” to “State Socialism”; as if they were two different things. The so-called “State Socialist” holds that the system of the future will consist in collective control of capital and industries of social interest for the collective benefit, and employs precisely the terms “collective” and “collectively” because they can be applied equally well to the nation, the state, the county and the city. It is the principle that is important and that is everywhere the same. Nationalism, in short, means that national interests shall be controlled by the nation and local interests by the socialities themselves; or more philosophically speaking, *prophesies* that evolution is leading us up to that stage. That being so, is it not evident that Dr. Newton is at sea in saying “I know of no record of such a scheme ever having been tried”? How could the past have tried a scheme which is still in the womb of time and for which all preceding history is but a preparation?

Now, it is easy to see the final error of Dr. Newton. To nationalize industries is to him a goal so far in the future as to be impracticable and no one, according to him, ever has or can “present in a business way any prospectus of such a scheme.” While on the other hand he is perfectly willing to move vigorously forward for “points above the horizon.” Good! as far as the latter is concerned. Now, as such “points above the horizon” Nationalists aim at the nationalization of the telegraph on the one side and municipalization of the gas works on the other. But how can such steps be rationally presented or even intelligently discussed, except as the first stages of a comprehensive scheme, and such a scheme both can be and has been repeatedly “indicated in a business like way”—which these first proposals in fact prove. Of course, only in outline. It is with the social philosopher as with the naturalist. The latter, if he

knows his business, can predict what kind of a plant will grow out of a certain seed, but he cannot tell us how many leaves it will have. So it is with a social philosophy which is worth anything, it ought to be able to present to us the future social order in outline, and this I doubt not our people will insist on having before them before they consent to the first steps.

LAURENCE GRÖNLUND.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

I.

Do you remember
 The red September,
 When like an ember
 From sunset skies
 The orchard olden
 Looked rosy-golden —
 Through silvern mist, a thin disguise;
 And I beheld the earth's gay beauty,
 Its autumn splendor, full and fruity,
 Reflected in your hazel eyes?

III.

Do you remember
 The white December,
 The dim-lit chamber,
 The hearth's dull beams:
 At which I found you,
 With perfume round you,
 Low singing to the fire's faint gleams?
 'Twas then that first I kissed your tresses,
 And you confessed amid caresses —
 It was the Christmas of your dreams.

II.

Do you remember
 The gray November,
 When pearl and amber
 From hill to shore,
 With shadows dimmer,
 Was all the glimmer
 The languid land at sunset wore?
 'Twas then through downcast lids love beck-
 oned,
 And you, in one sweet, sudden second,
 Looked up, a woman, — girl no more.

IV.

Now, red Septembers
 And gray Novembers
 And white Decembers,
 With joy and pain,
 Have twined around us
 So oft, and found us
 In pain and pleasure one,—though twain,
 That now my memory it doth trouble
 To think just when, O sweetest double,
 Love in our hearts began his reign.

WALTER ADAMS.

HOW TO ADVANCE TRUE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

The following is the substance of a letter sent in response to an invitation to attend the conference of Civil-Service Reformers held at Baltimore, and revised for this magazine by the writer :—

“I feel that the best way to secure thorough Civil-Service Reform is to enlarge the Civil-Service and broaden its scope, for experience shows that a large body is more efficiently managed and more effective in operation than a small one. Therefore all Civil-Service Reformers should work earnestly in favor of increasing the functions of the postal service, for instance, by placing in its control the telegraph, the telephone and the express-business of the country, as has been done with such excellent results in Germany, England, and other European countries ; also by making the entire railway system of the country the property of the Nation, operated by the Government, directly for the benefit of the Public.

The railways are the true highways of the country, and in our modern civilization it is essential to the well-being of the community that they should be public property, instead of being entrusted to the hands of corporations endowed with privileges at the expense of the public, but managed primarily for the advantage of a few, and only incidentally for the benefit of the many. This nationalization of the railways will soon be generally perceived to be even more desirable than it was to transform the turnpike roads into free public highways, as has been done long since in our most progressive states. And it will be found to be the only effective remedy possible for the ills arising out of the present railway situation.

Such an enlargement of the Civil-Service will be found to be the best means for overcoming the people's present apathy concerning it. Their concern in it would be made more direct and they would insist upon receiving the best possible services. They would not consent to the entrusting of their lives and their property to the charge of men appointed for political considerations instead of fitness.

The chief objection made to such a step is that it would place the disposition of an enormous amount of patronage in the hands of the party in power, thus enabling it to perpetuate its hold upon the government. These fears are purely imaginary. The great danger that threatens the very life of our free institutions comes from the corrupting influences of the powerful corporations that are exercising for their own profit functions that should properly be performed by the Government itself directly for

the benefit of the public. These bodies, in seeking to extend the privileges conferred upon them for the service of the people, do not scruple to bring the most corrupting pressure to bear upon our legislative bodies and also the officials of our National, State and Municipal governments. Unless these influences are annulled by governmental assumption of the functions now so abused by those exercising them, it cannot be long before we see our grand Republic complete its transformation into a plutocracy.

Our Civil-Service is the great army of peace, of industry. When war shall have been made impossible by the very might of its instruments, the same advancement of science that creates those instruments will make the military branch of the national service give place to the civil. The Civil-Service therefore deserves the highest honor, and it should have the same permanency of organization, the same principle of promotion for merit, and be imbued by the same sense of duty or *esprit du corps* that are now essential features of the Army and Navy."

SYLVESTER BAXTER.

TO LESBIA.

{FROM THE LATIN OF "CATULLUS."}

So you ask me, Lesbia darling,
Like yourself, a question vain:
What's the number of your kisses
That will quench my thirsty pain?

Now, if you would learn exactly
The addition's rich amount,
All the sands in vast Sahara,
Love, you must be sure to count.

Then, if you that sum should finish,
Yet another would arise;
You would have to reckon truly
All the stars in all the skies: —

All the stars that gleaming ever,
Smile so strangely soft and bright
On the furtive lips of lovers
In the dreamy lull of night.

Count the stars, my love, my darling!
Ah! your labor would be vain;
I should merely smile, and towards you
Pout my longing lips again.

HENRY W. AUSTIN.

WRESTLING WITH THE INEVITABLE.

The address of Chauncey M. Depew before the graduates of the Yale Law School, and a like address by Henry W. Grady before the Virginia graduates give the opinions of two representative men on governmental control of industries that are worth reviewing. According to the *New York Herald*, of June 26, 1889, Mr. Depew says:—

“The restlessness of labor and its consolidation into powerful organizations, occasional riots displaying the fiercest passions and most destructive spirit, and spasms of legislative fury against corporate investments indicate discontents and dangers which it is folly to ignore and criminal to neglect. They show further that public-spirited and successful men and honest corporations suffer from a keen sense of wrong against those who have acquired fortunes by violence or fraud, or the companies who have unjustly or tyrannically misused their franchises.” * * * * *

“Fifteen years ago one man owned a majority of the stock of the New York Central Railroad and a few others most of the balance. Now it has ten thousand proprietors, and the large majority of them are people of small property. This indicates a process of distribution which will speedily change the character and management of American corporations. The magnitude of modern enterprises and the close competitions of business have rendered the massing of the money of the many into one company a necessity which seems to be steadily increasing. The only other suggestion for carrying on the great affairs essential to comfortable living in our complex civilization is for the government to conduct them all. But experience has demonstrated that then, as in the German railways, the people get the minimum of service for the maximum of price, and an army of officeholders keeps its party in power, and prevents the reform of abuses or the remedy of wrongs. We meet the question better by a compromise, which may be wisely enlarged, of State or national supervision.”

Mr. Depew is a man of considerable sagacity and it is important that he has gone so far as to desire that the Government and State should have “an enlargement in their supervision” of the great industries that have become a menace to the public. This is a tendency in the right direction, and a growth of the danger will lead to stronger language. Mr. Grady says:—

“But no man can note the encroachment in this country of what may be called ‘the money power’ on the rights of the individual without feeling that the time is approaching when the issue between plutocracy and the people will be forced to trial.”

“The fact that a man ten years from poverty has an income of \$20,000,000— and his two associates nearly as much— from the control and arbitrary pricing of an article of universal use falls strangely on the ears of those who hear it as they sit empty handed, while children cry for bread. The tendency deepens the dangers suggested by the status. What is to be the end of this swift piling up of wealth? When the agent of a dozen men who have captured and control an article of prime necessity meets the representatives of a million farmers, from whom they have forced \$3,000,000 the year before, with no more moral right than is behind the highwayman who halts the traveler at his pistol’s point, and insolently gives them the measure of this year’s rapacity and tells them— men who live by the sweat of their brows and stand between God and Nature— that they must submit to the infamy because they are helpless, then the first fruits of this system are gathered and have turned to ashes on the lips. When a dozen men get together in the morning and fix the price of a dozen articles of common use— with no standard but their arbitrary will and no limit but their greed or daring— and then notify

the sovereign people of this free Republic how much, in the mercy of their masters, they shall pay for the necessaries of life, then the point of intolerable shame has been reached."

"Economists have held that wheat, grown everywhere, could never be cornered by capital. And yet one man in Chicago tied the wheat crop in his handkerchief and held it until a sewing woman in my city working for ninety cents a week had to pay him twenty cents tax on the sack of flour she bore home in her famished hands. Three men held the cotton crop until the English spindles were stopped and the lights went out in three million English homes. Last summer one man cornered pork until he had levied a tax of \$3 per barrel on every consumer and pocketed a profit of millions. The Czar of Russia would not have dared to do these things, and yet they are no secrets in this free government of ours!"

"What is the remedy? To exalt the hearthstone, to strengthen the home, to build up the individual, to magnify and defend the principle of local self-government. Not in deprecation of the federal government, but to its glory."

"The man who kindles the fire on the hearthstone of an honest and righteous home burns the best incense to liberty. He does not love mankind less who loves his neighbor most." * * *

"Exalt the citizen. As the State is the unit of government he is the unit of the State. Teach him that his home is his castle, and his sovereignty rests beneath his hat. Make him self-respecting, self-reliant, and responsible. Let him lean on the State for nothing that his own arm can do and on the government for nothing that his State can do. Let him cultivate independence to the point of sacrifice and learn that humble things with unbartered liberty are better than splendors bought with its price. Let him neither surrender his individuality to government nor merge it with the mob. Let him stand upright and fearless—a freeman born of freemen—sturdy in his own strength—dowering his family in the sweat of his brow—loving to his State—loyal to his Republic—earnest in his allegiance wherever it rests, but building his altar in the midst of his household gods and shrining in his own heart the uttermost temple of its liberty."

The injustice of the system of individualism was never portrayed in more vivid language than by Mr. Grady. He "hews close to the line" when he pictures "Old Hutch" holding a sample of wheat in his handkerchief that represents the market, and the condition of his neighbor, "a sewing woman in my city working for ninety cents a week had to pay him twenty cents tax on the sack of flour she bore home in her famished hands."

It is well for us to know that his neighbor receives but ninety cents a week, for in the recent annual report of the Rice Growers Association of Savannah it is stated that the per diem cost of slave labor did not much exceed twenty cents, which would be thirty-three per cent., more than the neighbor of Mr. Grady is receiving. Can it be that slavery is more generous than the system that Mr. Grady is defending?

This is not a question between North and South, or East and West; not an issue between the Republican and Democratic parties; indeed, it is impossible to transfer any portion of this matter to partisan politics, for the great trusts and combinations divide the honors pretty evenly between the two old parties; but, though a partisan, Mr. Grady shows remarkable

powers of discernment, for he has found the results of the present system. It only remains for him to see that, if the system is right, the results are right. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit." On the other hand, if the results of the defended system are so unjust, not in a few isolated instances, but generally, then as an honest man and a bright one, too, he ought not to be long in joining us who demand a remedy for these evils, other than the strengthening of individualism, the very foundation of all such ills. This issue cannot be dodged, except by professional politicians, and even they cannot as long as they did the anti-slavery question, for it is coming along faster.

The inevitable tendency is to bring the question of the rights of property more and more to the front, and it is of practical consequence that impartially considered and tested theories should be applied to the existing order of things to prevent a prolongation of suffering on the one hand, or unnecessary disturbance on the other. These questions must not be left to be fought out between ignorant change and an equally ignorant opposition to change for, if they are, the future of mankind will be gravely imperilled. The discussion now required is one that must go down to the first principles of existing society. The fundamental doctrines which were assumed as incontestable by former generations are now again put on trial. The conflicts of the past have always been between classes both of which had a stake in the constitution of private property. When the discussion includes a class who have no property they will certainly demand that the subject shall be considered from the foundation and that all modes of modifying property which have the appearance of being favorable to the interest of the producers shall receive full consideration.

And, however irrefutable the argument in favor of the laws of private property may appear to those for whom they have the double prestige of immemorial custom and of personal interest, nothing is more natural than that a person who has nothing but his daily bread, and that in insufficient quantities, frequently of inferior quality, and with no certainty of continuance, might regard such laws in a different light.

Now, there is a large and growing class in our country who, in the vocabulary of an aristocracy, may be said to have no stake in the property of the country, and so are not bribed by a property interest to sustain the laws relating to private property. To this great *and growing* class add a greater one of moderate means that has no interest in sustaining a feudality of capitalists and it will be seen that it is as certain as any-

thing in politics can be that these two, when they reach a fusing point, will not support the inequalities of property that have been so ably pictured by Mr. Grady. As soon and as often as these shall choose to act together, and exert for a common object the electoral power that our institutions give them, they will exercise a great influence on legislation. And so far as their power reaches, the present laws of property will depend upon the estimate made by them of their conduciveness to the public welfare.

Another indisputable tendency of the age is away from private capital in production, and the advantages that come from aggregated capital are an object-lesson to the lookers-on who are not profiting, and already they are asking, "What would be the result, if all capital was aggregated for the benefit of all?" Then, certainly there would be no chance for one person, already over-rich, to hold the wheat crop of the entire country in his handkerchief while Mr. Grady's neighbor worked for the sum of fifteen cents a day.

The remedy offered by Mr. Grady is: "Exalt the citizen." So far his remedy is well stated, but a close analysis of the remainder of his proposed remedy shows that there are differences in opinion as to methods for exalting a citizen. Under the present order of things if a person possesses a fortune, it is by a fortunate accident. Solomon, the embodiment of worldly wisdom, laid down this law more than thirty centuries ago. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither bread to the wise, nor riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." In discussing the connection between conduct and fortune, John Stuart Mill said: "The greatest of all evils,—Poverty,—is due to the institution of private property, which institution is upheld and commended as being the means by which industry and frugality are insured a reward, but instead of the reward being in proportion to the industry and frugality of the individual *it is frequently in an inverse ratio to it*, for virtue, intelligence, industry and dexterity do not insure success. While it is true that the lot of the individual is not independent of their virtue and intelligence, these do not count in their favor so much as fortunate accidents, the greatest of which is to be born rich, and next to birth the circumstance of chance and opportunity which can come to but a limited number. The connection between conduct and fortune is such that there is a degree of bad conduct that will ruin any amount of good fortune; but on the other hand no

amount of good conduct brings good fortune without fortunate accidents. This cannot be otherwise in a system of individualism based upon private property, in which each is for himself against all the rest and under which everyone finds his place by a struggle, pushing others back or being pushed back by them."

"CHANCE" is the tyrant that sits enthroned in the system defended by Mr. Grady. The citizen cannot safely fight the battle of life as a single-handed worker, but, as it was on account of the citizen that society and government were organized, to this end they will be perfected. It is safe to follow tested methods. To avoid the ruin that comes to the owner of a factory by a conflagration he joins with other factory owners in a mutual insurance in which each owner pays a fair portion of any loss that may come to another, the loss of one is made the loss of all, and none are ruined; in fact the "chance" of loss by fire has now become but a fraction instead of being the principal factor. Here, then, is a system of socialism put against the system of individualism to strengthen the individual. The factory owner by joining with other factory owners has conquered "chance" in the matter of loss by fire. So in other industrial matters by analogous combining of the interests of all, "chance" can be vanquished, but to do it the system of individualism must be modified so that the man and not the system will be master of the situation; and when poverty is destroyed by a closer blending of every man's interest in a common wealth, then, and then only, will Mr. Grady's remedy be a reality,— "the citizen will be exalted."

CHARLES E. BUELL.

TAKE HEED.

Take heed of your Civilization, ye, on your pyramids built of quivering hearts;
 There are stages like Paris in '93 where the commonest men play terrible parts.
 Your statutes may crush, but they cannot kill the patient sense of a natural right;
 It may slowly move, but the people's will, like the ocean o'er Holland, is always in sight.
 "'Tis not our fault!" say the rich ones. No; 'tis the fault of a system old and strong;
 But men are the makers of systems: so, the cure will come, if we own the wrong.

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

HOW IS THIS FOR ONE DAY?

The news of one day, Aug. 9, 1889 : —

Darwin W. Pratt, the embezzling agent of McCormick Reaper Company of St. Louis, goes to jail. Ex-street-railroad president of New York arrested for forgery and fraudulent issue of stock. More developments in the stupendous list of forgeries in Minneapolis. It is reported at Providence that Treasurer Brown, before he disappeared, issued a block of Riverside and Oswego mills paper and holds the proceeds.

A fine harvest from private enterprise !

OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The Topeka Capital calls heed to the fidelity of men in the public service, and says that men are more careful of themselves in official than in private life. This is true, and argues well for the correctness of Nationalistic principles. If civil-service reform were thoroughly instituted, the public service would be so efficient that no private service could compare with it.

FRUITS OF COMPETITION.

The Boston Operative Tailors' Union complains of New York competition, which its investigating committee found to be founded on advantages like the following : Men and women to the number of fourteen working in rooms 12 by 6, 12 and 16 hours a day ; in many shops men work, eat and sleep in the room ; pay for 12 and 16 hours work a day ranging from \$3 to \$7 a week. The rooms in which the tenement house system of work prevailed were described as in a most filthy condition. Starvation wages, disease of body and soul, infection of goods, adulteration of food, bad service and poor workmanship. Such are the fruits of competition !

A RAILWAY TRUST.

The agitation for a great railway trust, started by Banker McCook, will continue with increasing force. If railways are to continue in private hands, a trust will be the only way out of the present complication, but the prospects for a trust will increase the popular demand for nationalization. The step recently taken by Hungary shows the popular benefits that would come from a national ownership of the railways in this country. A uniform system of rates has been established, dividing the whole country into two local and fourteen general zones,

within and between which there is an unvarying scale, taking the place of the old kilometer rates. The system is a modification of the uniform postal-rate idea, and of the practice of uniform street-car fares universally prevailing in our cities. The reduction of rates has been enormous—that from the old fares to the new for the same distance in some cases being as great as from \$15 to \$3. The Boston Herald says that such a system adopted in this country would revolutionize travel. “Tens of thousands in the North would spend their winters in the South, and possibly hundreds of thousands in the South and West would spend their summers on our northeastern seashores.” In other words the public would gain advantages from national ownership of railways corresponding to the benefits of the postal service. Let the day be hastened!

IGNORANCE THE GREAT EVIL.

A writer to the Boston Transcript thoughtfully pleads for greater safeguards of the suffrage and says that some terrible catastrophe must speedily befall us unless a cure is found for the evil resulting not only from the presence of ignorant and criminal classes among us, but from the share which those classes have in making, interpreting and executing the laws. These dangers are indeed grave, but the usual remedies proposed would do little towards helping us. The root of the evil is ignorance; crime chiefly arises from that cause. The situation cannot be bettered materially by merely prescribing an educational qualification for the suffrage. What is demanded are measures providing that all children not only may, but must, be educated; measures for bringing this about by enabling all, whatever their condition, to take advantage of educational privileges. This can be done through such steps as are advocated by Mr. Bellamy in his recent article on the subject, and by Colonel Jacobson in his admirable book, “Higher Ground,” reviewed in this issue. When child labor is completely abolished, when the schools of vice and crime, the breeding places of decrepitude and disease, existing in factory, workshop, office and street, are broken completely up by the withdrawal of the children into schools of mental, manual and physical training, then we shall have a firm foundation for a prosperous national future in an intelligent, industrious and robust people. This must be the basis for all real progress and to this end all should strive most earnestly.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

C. F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

[Nationalists having friends in towns and cities mentioned in this department are requested to urge them to correspond with the addresses given. Others resident in these places not yet affiliated with our movement, but desirous of joining, need not hesitate to write to these addresses. Thus, through this department, a vast organizing force will be set to work which we could not reach in any other way. Secretaries of clubs are requested to send in their news in time to reach this office by the 20th of the month. Ed.]

The growth of the Nationalist movement is so phenomenal that it cannot be adequately described in this column as the news must be confined to clubs now in existence, just started, or about to be formed. The many letters from all over the country coming to this office every day, show clearly the deep hold which our ideas have taken on the public mind. But to print all these, which alone would give to outsiders a thorough understanding of how our movement is progressing, would require an entire magazine much larger than this.

It is intended, however, in the future, to print as full an account as possible of the different clubs. In order to give it the desired completeness, secretaries are requested to send full details in regard to their clubs, as well as any newspaper reports of meetings or other matter showing action of the clubs in pushing Nationalistic ideas.

ARKANSAS: EUREKA SPRINGS. Mr. W. F. Bragg is evidently one of those practical men who when he believes in anything wants to set to work on it. He writes: "Please send me the necessary papers and instructions to organize at this place, *at once*."

CALIFORNIA: OAKLAND. This Club under the leadership of Margaret Snell, Mrs. Harriet Stevens, Mrs. Howard, Marie A. Walsh, Eugene Hough and others is literally taking Oakland by storm. They have enlisted so many of the social, literary and artistic classes of Oakland that the daily newspapers even treat the movement with respectful attention and every issue of the "Times" has a column or more upon the subject. The "Enquirer" devotes a column every evening to its discussion, and has also established a special department of social studies. More than sixty active members are already enrolled. The club rooms are open day and evening, and the librarian is in constant attendance. A public debate is held every Monday evening in the lecture room of Snell seminary. Mr. Eugene Hough, the secretary, says: "The 'Times' has taken great pains to make a success of the debate now progressing between Mr. Leigh H. Irvine an editor of the San Francisco 'Examiner' and one of our members, Burnette G. Haskell. We expect much good to accrue from this discussion, as both are well versed in political economy and in platform debate also. Something practical is also being done. We asked the Board of Public Works to begin the construction of public electric light and water systems. As a result, they have decided that the city shall own the poles and wires, and are considering the advisability of owning the electric plant. I think we may congratulate ourselves that 'it goes.'" That man of brain and heart, Burnette G. Haskell, in the August number of his magazine "The Commonwealth," says:—

"The last time I spoke in Oakland was some four years before on Broadway below Seventh, and I remember there were about two thousand present, about equally divided in their sentiments—one-half wanted to hang me, the other half to roast me over a slow fire. But at Hamilton Hall there were flowers, applause and converts with faces flushed and eyes full of tears. If there be any of the Old Guard sleeping, listen,—**THE DRUMS ARE BEATING, BEATING, BEATING.**" Mr. Haskell also says in his magazine: "Mr. Leigh H. Irvine, lawyer, political economist and journalist, attempted to defend the present system before the public at Hamilton Hall on Monday, July 22, before another large audience. The 'Times' gave a three column report of the debate and treated us very fairly. This is the first time on this Coast that a man could be found to face us on the platform. He made a gallant fight, which will be continued on Monday, July 29th, and Monday,

August 5th, at the same hall. The Oakland Club selected me to reply to Mr. Irvine which I did as well as I was able, handicapped for time in dealing with such a subject."

LOS ANGELES. This club is organized and has adopted the declaration of principles of the Boston club which it has issued in printed form. It has already one hundred members. Mrs. Anna Ferry Smith under date of July 25th, writes: "I have constituted myself an organizer of Nationalist Clubs in this section and am going from place to place proclaiming the New Gospel and in much the same way as the disciples of old. The first Nationalist Club of Los Angeles holds meetings every Sunday afternoon, in Upper Turner Hall, with an ever increasing attendance. There is an increasing interest felt here, in this Paradise of the West, about the great social revolution now going on. Rev. George W. Savory writes that he has begun to preach from "Looking Backward." Just on going to press we have received notice of a second club in Los Angeles.

SAN FRANCISCO. The club which has been organized in this city has lost no time in getting to work. In notifying this magazine of its formation, Mrs. Anna H. Haskell, the corresponding secretary, makes use of a handsome letter head, giving names of officers with the name of the club, "The Nationalist Club of San Francisco" in bold type and a subhead which reads "Devoted to the Realization of Edward Bellamy's Novel, Looking Backward." Mrs. Haskell says:—

"The first meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Burnette G. Haskell, Friday evening, July 26, 1889. At the second meeting, held July 30, the following officers were elected: Mrs. Henrietta Blue, President, Arthur W. Dowe, Secretary, Mrs. Florence W. Chick, Vice-President, Mrs. A. D. Brock, Treasurer, Anna H. F. Haskell, Corresponding Secretary. The number of charter members was thirty, among whom were Dr. N. Russell, one of the leading surgeons of San Francisco, Rabbi Samuel Frendev, John H. Redstone, the leading patent lawyer, Alvan D. Brock, the electrical engineer, P. Ross Martin and Albert Currelin, journalists, and many other well-known San Franciscans.

"The Declaration of Principles and Constitution and By-Laws adopted were similar to those of the Boston club.

"It is proposed to thoroughly canvass the reading public, including the school department for membership. It is said that about 1,500 copies of 'Looking Backward' have been sold in this city; of these John H. Redstone has sold over 200, and the *Pacific Union*, a local 'labor' paper, now offers the book as a premium: the Mercantile, Mechanic and Free libraries have to list the persons inquiring for the book in the order of their application."

The club has engaged headquarters at 1504 Market Street, Room 13, which is open from 10 A.M., to 4 P.M. Public meetings are held every Tuesday evening at 8 P.M. From other sources it is learned that four other clubs are in embryo.

KAWEAH. Mr. J. J. Martin, the secretary of the Kaweah coöperative colony, has written that he intends to form a Nationalist Club at the colony.

SAN JOSE. S. S. Rizer writes "Please send me sample copies of *The Nationalist*, also the papers and instructions for organizing clubs. Mr. Bellamy's book is taking on this coast like wild-fire in a dry stubble."

COLORADO: DENVER. Mr. E. E. Elliott, Box 2,741, writes for Constitutions as he desires to form a club.

ILLINOIS: EVANSTON. Mr. Jerome H. Raymond writes:—

"I am a student in the college here, and I spoke to Miss Willard about a plan I had half formed when reading "Looking Backward" of starting a society in our university, which has about 1,400 students. She told me about your society, and said I would do well to write you. May I hope for some early information from you?"

INDIANA: INDIANAPOLIS. There are several persons in this city who are desirous of forming a club, and have sent for Constitutions and By-Laws. John P. Prang is the latest to so write.

IOWA: DES MOINES. Miss S. S. Gillette, of the "Iowa Tribune," under date of

July 23, says: "We have organized a club to study these questions. Mr. F. M. Gilbert, the senior member of the Gilbert Starch Works, formerly of Buffalo, N. Y., is the President of our club."

MASSACHUSETTS: BROOKFIELD. Rev. L. W. Mason writes: "I am about to organize a club."

BOSTON. This club holds its meetings monthly on the second Wednesday evening, at the hall of the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, 98 Boylston street. At the August meeting Capt. Edward S. Huntington delivered an admirable address on the work to be done. He advocated a thorough system of civil-service reform and woman suffrage as primary steps to nationalism, and explained at length the Nationalists' approval of trusts. He was followed by Mr. J. Ransom Bridge who drew a graphic picture of the sufferings of the vast majority of the people today. Dr. William L. Faxon spoke on the value of the idea of the brotherhood of man and classed it as the foundation stone of nationalism. Eight new members were admitted and ten applied.

MICHIGAN: LANSING. F. M. Fogg, secretary of the Union Labor party, has written to Hon. John M. Potter, the chairman, a letter lately published in the "Lansing Sentinel," in which Mr. Fogg, after speaking of the growth of the Nationalist movement, calls the attention of Mr. Potter and the Chairman of the National Committee of the Union Labor party to this "new departure on the part of our most progressive reformers" as worthy of emulation. Mr. Fogg, after stating our objects and his willingness to help organize Nationalist Clubs, makes use of the following remarkable words:—

"During the last nine months, I have learned enough of Wall street and the financial world to convince me that the time is upon us which will try men's souls. The gallows, the guillotine, the garrote, the burning faggots and the stake will soon stare the most sturdy reformer in the face. The monopolies, with their trust schemes and combinations, have taught the people Nationalism. For one, I am now in favor of putting it in force. The reform political parties have only been stepping stones to this final grand ultimatum—the universal brotherhood of man under one universal law. The twentieth century will witness our instruments of war turned into plowshares and pruning hooks, our battle flags forever furled." Later, in a letter to this magazine, Mr. Fogg says: "We have over 50,000 Union Labor voters in Michigan who can with some effort be organized into Nationalist Clubs. The West is ripe for this movement."

These communications are highly significant, for Mr. Fogg has the reputation of being a hard-headed, cool-thinking man, possessed of no mean oratorical ability and thoroughly earnest in all he undertakes. The "Detroit Evening News" after commenting on the letter, says of him editorially: "Mr. Fogg has influence enough with his party to induce them to adopt his latest platform, and in that event it will be interesting to watch the progress of this political party."

This is, indeed, an accession to our ranks which should occasion rejoicing. Now that the farmers are coming in, success seems assured in the near future.

MISSOURI: ST. LOUIS. Everett W. Pattison, a well-known lawyer, writes: "The leaven is working here and I hope we may at no distant day give an account of ourselves." N. O. Nelson, of the great N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Co., is also much interested. The leaven must be working, for the city council has passed a law to take the gas works and issue four millions of bonds to so do.

NEW YORK: BUFFALO. Mr. William Macomber writes: "There are several of us in Buffalo, who have, during the past two or three years, been thinking very earnestly along the lines discussed in your magazine, and by such writers as Mr. Bellamy. We have heard of the Nationalist Club, and wish to know more of it. Organization has been favorably discussed among us for some time; and it would seem that the line of our thought and desired activity is parallel with that of the Nationalist Club."

BROOKLYN. Professor De Leon, a most active member of the New York Club, No. 1, whose address is 1487 Avenue A, writes: "We are gathering the materials to start a good club in Brooklyn."

NORTH CAROLINA: ASHEVILLE. Mr. Thomas A. Jones, of the law firm of

Davidson, Martin & Jones, writes: "Please send me at once copies of the magazine and a Constitution of the Club as I am trying to establish a club in this place."

OHIO: COLUMBUS. In the August NATIONALIST a short account was given of the formation of a club in this city. Mr. E. J. Bracken, the Secretary, under date of July 21, writes: "The Free Land Club after a careful perusal of 'Looking Backward' at its meetings of the past month, concluded to go forward another step,—or rather, to take the final jump, as we believe this is the end of our journey. We started in with 'Henry George Club,' dropped the 'Henry George' for 'Land and Labor,' then became 'Labor,' afterward, 'Free Land,' 'Single-Tax,' all we believed in the line of progression. Today we 'fight mit Bellamy.'"

TOLEDO. Mr. A. E. Macomber of the law firm of Macomber, Moore and McDonnell, writes: "It is not unlikely that we may be able to organize a Nationalist Club in Toledo this autumn." Rev. W. J. Hopkins, rector of Grace Church, has preached twice on "Looking Backward," and expects to do so several times more. He expresses great interest in the movement.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY: TACOMA. A Nationalist Club was formed in this city, July 25, with twenty-five charter members. The club will meet the second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at the parlors of the First Unitarian Church. Rev. W. E. Copeland, the pastor of the above named church, who was largely instrumental in founding the club, is President, Robert Stevens, Treasurer, and Miss Ida Wright, Secretary. Rev. Mr. Copeland lectures Sunday evenings on "Looking Backward" which results in increasing the membership.

So far this movement has received only words of praise except, as was natural, from the advocates of the present system. The representatives of the two great labor organizations of the country favor it. Mr. T. V. Powderly when in Boston attending the Shoemakers Convention, called at our office to express his satisfaction at the new movement. Mr. P. J. McGuire who is the Secretary of the great American Federation of Labor is busily engaged in forming a club in Philadelphia, while Mr. Samuel Gompers, its President, writes us very cordially. But not alone from the labor organizations do we derive strength. Our movement takes in all classes. The clergy and the professions are taking the lead in this movement, while close behind is many and many a business man whose eyes are open to the injustice and absurdity of our present system. The lawyers are especially numerous. Were it not for the fact that our ideas, once carried into effect, would destroy three-fourths of their business, this might arouse suspicion. As it is, they are a tower of strength with their trained minds and careful methods. As will be seen, the farmers are joining our ranks and we shall soon have all elements merged in a popular movement which will need but a few years, comparatively speaking, in which to secure a republic of industry, the collective control of the means of production.

PARTIAL LIST OF CLUB SECRETARIES.

1. BOSTON, MASS. J. RANSOM BRIDGE, 110 Tremont street.
2. WASHINGTON, D. C. . . . M. A. CLANCY, 1426 Corcoran street.
3. CHICAGO, CORINNE S. BROWN, Woodlawn Park, Ill.
4. HARTFORD, CONN. W. L. CHENEY, P. O. Box 83.
5. NEW YORK CITY, (No. 1) W. C. TEMPLE, 575 Madison Ave.
6. PORTSMOUTH, N. H. . . . ROBERT E. RICH.
7. OAKLAND, CAL. EUGENE HOUGH, Box 59.
8. NEW YORK CITY, (No 2), A. G. HILLEY, East 146th street.
9. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. . . . MRS. KATE BUFFINGTON DAVIS.
10. LYNN, MASS. JOHN W. GIBBONEY.
11. LOS ANGELES, CAL.
12. COLUMBUS, O. E. J. BRACKEN, 505 North High street.
13. TACOMA, WASHINGTON, . . MISS IDA WRIGHT.
14. DES MOINES, IOWA, . . . MISS S. S. GILLETTE.
15. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. . . MRS. ANNA H. F. HASKELL, 712 Greenwich st.

REVIEWS.

[We gladly notice in brief all books sent us. Books bearing on economic or social questions we will review as extensively as our space permits.]

THE NETHER WORLD. BY GEORGE GISSING.

The scene of Mr. Gissing's "Nether World" is laid in London, and while some of its features are essentially characteristic of London, nevertheless the main facts apply to the nether world of people massed together in cities, either in Europe or America. There is the same miserable monotony of existence, the same hard struggle for even food itself, the same total disregard for the sufferings and envy of the welfare of others, and occasionally the single noble unselfish character standing in high relief against a background of sordid misery, crime, degradation, hopeless conditions. Mr. Gissing's book has no obtrusive *pointe-de-morale*. He simply lays bare existing facts in the life of the mass of the people living in cities — from the dyeing of hair, in order to obtain employment unhandicapped by aged appearance (recently, by-the-way, investigated and found to be a fact by a Parliamentary committee,) to the distinction drawn between the two classes of the nether world — those who wear collars and the collarless.

The book is cheerless and depressing as the life of the people it depicts, but no impartial observer can but acknowledge its truth and therefore in a certain sense its art. It is well worth reading. Published by Harper Bros., New York.

HIGHER GROUND.* BY AUGUSTUS JACOBSON.

It is refreshing to read Mr. Jacobson's earnest work, at this time, when the question of the rights of children is coming strongly to the front, and the Nationalists are preparing to agitate in favor of taking almost precisely the steps that the author advocates: considerable increase of the compulsory school-age and the remuneration of parents who would otherwise be dependent upon the earnings of their children for the partial support of the household. Mr. Jacobson writes with a crisp, direct simplicity that makes his work very easy reading and brings his meaning out very clearly. He finds the solution of the labor troubles in the manual training school, and he ably sets forth the merits of that institution. "The children who work in the factory look like little old men and women; and they are more vicious than old men and old women, — rotten before they are ripe." The author points out that the first step towards a remedy for the poor condition of the world's hand-workers lies in raising the grade of their intelligence, the grade of their skill, the grade of their work, and, as a consequence, the grade of their ability and power to earn money. "At the present time, for the children of the laboring people after they are ten or twelve years old, school facilities such as now exist are only a hollow mockery. There is no earthly use in additional school facilities unless the children are supplied with the means of availing themselves of those facilities. The necessity is upon the children to earn their own livelihood; and of what use are school facilities to children who must work for their daily bread from early morn till dewy eve?"

As a remedy, Mr. Jacobson proposes that the manual training school shall be made a

*Higher Ground. Hints towards settling the Labor Troubles. By Augustus Jacobson. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1888.

part of the American public school system, as it already is in Chicago, Toledo, Philadelphia, and other places, and that to enable all children to get the benefit of the school, parents or guardians shall be paid for keeping the children at school throughout the public course, including the high school or manual training school, the compensation beginning at the twelfth and continuing till the twentieth year. The payment would be \$50 the first year and increase by \$25 each year up to the sixth, when it would amount to \$175. The seventh year there would be a \$50 increase to \$225, and the eighth, or last year, an increase of \$75 to \$300. The sums would probably correspond to the average of what the scholars would earn if at work.

The enormous expense of such a system would have to be met by an extraordinary tax, and this Mr. Jacobson thinks could best be secured from a graduated succession tax: amounting to 1-4 per cent., on all estates under \$2,000, 1-2 and 3-4 on \$50,000 respectively, and 1 per cent., on \$100,000, and increasing by one per cent., on each additional \$100,000 until it would amount to 50 per cent., on \$5,000,000 or any sum over that. We would suggest that perhaps a graduated income tax in addition would help matters, particularly at the start, and, perhaps the encouragement to deed away property before death which the succession tax might give might be met by subjecting such gifts to a corresponding tax.

Mr. Jacobson shows that such a tax would be no hardship or injustice, for it would fall upon those best able to bear it. "Without wealth there can be no intelligence. The wealth of a country must produce the intelligence of that country, or there will be no intelligence. This country cannot peaceably get along with the intelligence we now have. The best proof of that is that we are not getting along peaceably. No matter in whose hands the wealth is, intelligence sufficient to enable us to live in peace must be paid for and produced. With the means at hand to prevent it, we cannot afford to let our institutions succumb to chaos and anarchy. That in this land of liberty children should be foredoomed to starvation, to vice, and to crime, as they are in lands of despotism, would make of liberty a delusion and a snare, and would make us all feel that the less we said about liberty the better. That is not what is in store for children who are to be born in poverty on this generous American soil. The question is not what the few would like. The question is what is for the interest of the many. The welfare of the people is the supreme law. The welfare of the people is above everything else. All private considerations have to yield to the welfare of the people. Unless the wealth of the country shall in the manner proposed, or in some similar manner, be made to respond to the educational needs of the country, all the beggarliness, degradation, and hopelessness of European life will be upon us."

Mr. Jacobson describes, as demonstrated by experience, what the manual training school can accomplish, in giving youth a better and more varied mechanical knowledge in a comparatively shorter space of time than is possible under any apprentice system, and shows that since the manual training school will become to industry what West Point is to the army, so it is fitting that, just as cadets are paid for going to West Point, children and youth should be paid for going to the manual training school. Great as the expense would be for this education, he truly claims that it would be remunerative as well, and bring in a hundred dollars for every dollar expended.

While there would remain much of the industrial problem unsolved after the success-

ful introduction of this system, still it would go a long way towards settling it. Let this principle once be established, and, as Mr. Bellamy has said, the programme of Nationalism would be half realized.

STANDARDS.*

Mr. James W. See appears to be a pretty good sort of a practical Nationalist, judging from his views in regard to the important matter of mechanical standards. In his valuable essay, he shows how essential standards have become in the mechanical world, and how manufacturers have by the necessities of modern trade been forced to conform to them. The following shows the interdependence of the industrial world of today: "Almost all our modern industries are subdivided into separate industries mutually dependent upon each other for demand and supply. It seems the policy of the American manufacturer not to bother with a detail which he can procure of a satisfactory quality, at a cost less than that of its production in his own establishment; and it seems also the policy of the American sub-manufacturer to devote himself to such an extended manufacture of a given detail, that he can make it to the interest of the dominant manufacturers to let the manufacture of his specialty alone. It will readily be understood that a single detail of the product, receiving the entire attention, and thought, and application, and capital of the manufacturer concerned, will be more cheaply produced, and of higher quality than if the same detail was treated as a mere element in the factory engaged in the fabrication of a vast combination of elements." It may be perceived how well this idea of subdivision of functions might with the greatest economy be applied to our whole industrial system were it conducted under national auspices, instead of by the present wasteful and haphazard methods. Mr. See shows how mechanical standards embody unwritten laws accepted by the few who are interested, and which would soon be violated and abrogated by the multitude working in ignorance, or out of fellowship. It is significant to see how, in considering the various classes of standards, as in steam and gas-piping, hose-couplings, gas-burners, railroad-gauges, etc., the best ones prevail in those matters where the National government has had occasion to act, as in gun-calibers, "due originally to the fact that the Government had a finger in the pie"; in vent-holes and primers for ordnance, "a thoroughgoing individual [U. S.] having much to do with this matter, early adopted a standard"; and in proof-spirits, where in inaugurating its distillery revenue system, the Government found no standard it could make use of, and therefore, "like an enterprising individual, established a standard of its own." On the other hand, where the States have established standards they have confused matters, as, for instance, in gas, "no standard in quality. State statutes. Many States and many standards." In the matter of railroad-gauge "statutes of some of the States touch upon the subject, and probably, by reason of there being more than one State, thereby make the matter worse." The need of one central authority in these days of close community of interest between all sections of the country is evident. Mr. See therefore makes the sensible suggestion that there be established in connection with the Patent Office a "Bureau of Standards," in which any respectable representation of a trade or craft, after adopting a standard, could file the same, and it would thereafter be authoritative.

* Standards. A paper presented at the 19th meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. By James W. See, Hamilton, Ohio.

ADDRESS OF CAPT. E. S. HUNTINGTON

AT AUGUST MEETING OF BOSTON NATIONALIST CLUB.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — The honorable ordeal of addressing in this formal manner my fellow members of the Nationalist Club, (intelligent workers in a noble cause,) is accepted by me with extreme diffidence. It is indeed most encouraging to observe, from month to month, the constant increase of popular interest in our movement, and to note the class of our fellow citizens which seems especially attracted. We might naturally expect to enlist as recruits for our army, the sanguine enthusiasts, the dreamers, the sincere believers in Christ's teachings of communism and brotherly love. It goes without question that the dissatisfied wage earner, the proletarian, will be in close sympathy with us; but our ranks are filled with another class as you all know. Read the letters received at our headquarters from hard headed, practical business men, men who (according to the present estimate) have made a success of life. These come every day from all sections of the country, showing that the time is ripe for a general education of the people in the teachings of "a more excellent way." These doctrines, which are now attracting so much attention on this side of the water, are not new; and it almost seems to a believer in the Divine government of the universe, as if, in the process of evolution, the stage is arriving when a new step in human progress will be taken, and the order given for a grand advance of the lines of civilization. The term socialism has been such a "*painted devil*" to fright the soul of the ordinary reader that the works of the great writers on the most vital and interesting questions, connected with man's welfare and improvement, have been neglected. The efforts in the past of such champions in the cause of the Brotherhood of Man, as Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lasalle, and many others, (who, whatever their faults, were prompted in their labors by the noblest motives,) have been ignored or condemned. Until very recent days, to the average American mind, even of the educated man and woman, a socialist was a red-handed, violent revolutionist, — a disturber of the peace — a man to be suppressed with the strong arm of the law — locked in prison! hanged! This ignorance is being rapidly dispelled; and, awakening correct thought on social problems, a few powerful novels by gifted English and American writers have done much. It was left, however, to the inspiration of a literary man in Puritan New England to give this awakened thought an extraordinary impulse. He has fulfilled his mission so successfully, in presenting the true theories of socialism in an attractive form, that in so short a space of time as a twelvemonth a very large body of intelligent people, scattered all over our land, has become thoroughly interested in these pictures of a better existence so skilfully painted in *Looking Backward*. I think we Boston Nationalists have reason for mutual congratulation as we survey the result of that first little meeting in the small office in State Street, only six months ago. And here it cannot be out of place to mention the name of one man (though several others deserve equal praise,) who, next to Edward Bellamy, merits the love and gratitude of our Massachusetts Nationalists; the sanguine spirited, energetic, genial mannered enthusiast, Charles E. Bowers, who with prompt insight, timely personal exertions, and self sacrifice, was the prime instigator of our present society; a society destined to be the mother of many, many more, not only in Massachu-

sets, but in every State from ocean to ocean. I realize fully that I am at present addressing a gathering of friends that needs no such appeals to the heart as might be spoken to a Kindergarten Class in socialism. A Nationalist talking before such an audience would naturally dwell upon topics, which seem trite and hackneyed to us; which, however, never fail to move the hearts and sympathies of the most callous listeners: — the unjust and miserable conditions of our present social and economic arrangements. But you, Ladies and Gentlemen, who are here to night, need no such promptings, for you are all too far advanced in thought to be moved by sentiments that have become part of your very souls.

It is with some hesitation that I dare offer a few suggestions which have no doubt come to the minds of all of you. We must mourn as pessimists the unhappy lot of the great majority of the human race at this present time; but we must stand together as optimists in the most sanguine anticipations for a brighter future. We do not expect to see in this mortal flesh the fruition of all our hopes, but the oldest person in this hall to-night may have not unreasonable expectation of witnessing many a mile stone passed on the road leading to the wished-for goal. This goal very likely will not be the state of society so cleverly presented in Mr. Bellamy's book, nor any set scheme as imagined by even the wisest and most practical reformer. No matter for that! Let us cherish a grand ideal, while working with all our energies and personal influence to carry single measures that we believe are in the line of general improvement. We must be content to practice the greatest patience, for our task is gigantic. Discouragements, and even lack of faith, may at times threaten to quench the ardor of some of us; but so long as we are enrolled as a body with unity of aims and purpose, and use diligently our joint and several influences to make converts to our main principles, there is no danger of failure in the ultimate realization of many, if not all, of our plans. We must bear the scoffs and sneers of unworthy carpers. We must wear with equanimity the false titles: "long haired visionaries," "cranks," "demented dreamers," "shallow pated idealists" and many others. These are slight annoyances, which ought not to have a feather's weight in the scales of our endeavor. It is almost a certainty that before five years are passed, Nationalists, (and under this term are included our fellow workers in the Christian Socialist society and our brothers of the socialistic labor sections,) will be recognized as a very influential power in our Massachusetts politics; perhaps in the politics of the Nation. We all possess individual and in some cases differing opinions upon the perplexing problems of this age. Nationalists are not pledged on either side of such momentous questions as: Tariff Reform; The Doctrines of Henry George, (embracing the Single Tax); Direct Tax; Prohibition and others. When occasion arises, however, we should cut loose from any so-called party affiliations, forgetting all minor differences, to vote in favor of any measure which tends in the direction of our aims.

There are two movements that seem to me in entire unison with the general efforts of our organization. These are Civil-Service Reform and Woman Suffrage. The adoption of Civil-Service Reform in a much stricter spirit and in a much larger sphere than at present might even be called a necessary preparation for Nationalism. There are large numbers of thinking men who would be favorably disposed towards our views if it were not for their keen appreciation of the evils of the spoils system in government administration, and the difficulty of uprooting it. The more delicate and important the functions become, the greater will be the evils and the dangers of treating the public offices

as private patronage. A system, which bad as it is, still enables our post-office department to be conducted so admirably, might produce such intolerable evils in the administration of the telegraph system and the railroads of the country, that the evils of private ownership would seem preferable. Whatever other political tests we may apply to candidates for office, let us therefore require them in the first place to be consistent and persistent advocates of Civil-Service Reform. As for Woman Suffrage only a word is necessary. Equality of rights between men, leaving the rights of women unequal as at present, is no watchword for us. If the brotherhood of man does not include the sisterhood of woman, it is a meaningless generality. A recognition of woman as the perfect equal of man, as a social and political unit, is one of the first steps toward that reconstruction for which we strive. One other important question is somewhat discussed at this period, and it will probably be brought before our State legislature next winter; an amendment to the Massachusetts statutes raising the age for the compulsory education of our youth. Some plausible objections to such a law are put forth by able and conscientious thinkers; but, in my opinion, it should have the support of all Nationalists.

One hopeful sign, pointing toward the hastening of that better state of social existence, the object of our labors, may be briefly noticed. The present tendency of Capitalists, to combine in the formation of trusts, is in reality adopting the socialistic idea for the selfish benefit of the comparatively few. The economic advantage gained by these combinations is undoubted, but this saving only increases the wealth already accumulated by unjust means. These huge trusts will be pushed to such an extreme, that the people will realize the truth at last. The truth is: that if all forms of industry, trade and business enterprise are to be taken out of the field of competition and become a monopoly of Capital, it is better to trust an organized government with the control, and enable the whole people to have an equal share in the accrued saving. We should welcome free discussion on all points connected with the purpose for which we are joined. When we find our theories and plans criticized and ridiculed by speakers or writers we should prepare sound answers to all opposing arguments. Our statements should be clear and convincing, and, above all things, we should avoid the sarcastic sneer and the ill natured innuendo. Let us shun the paths of demagogism, not forgetting that we are banded as thinking men, "looking before and after." Let us allow all the good that has been attained by the competitive system. In attempting to change that system for something better let us beware of appealing too persistently to any one class. Let us rather address the moral sense of all classes. It is possible to destroy an evil system in a moment of selfish passion, but under such circumstances it would probably be impossible to substitute anything better. The foolish fury of the French Revolution made way for the iron rule of Napoleon I; and the vice and degradation of the Second Empire.

I had intended to devote a little time this evening to a brochure, written by Prof. Goldwin Smith, called "False Hopes;" also to say a few words in reply to Mr. Edward Atkinson, who has been using his pen in opposition to our cherished beliefs; but I have taken up too much of your time already. It is to be hoped that one of our competent members will prepare a paper to be read at our next meeting, answering in detail the objections presented by those sincere, but mistaken critics. We have launched our craft successfully and she rides the present smooth waters with an even keel. We must, however, exercise some prudence in shipping our crew and taking passengers, for this noble ship Nationalism will be freighted with the hopes of future millions. We shall sail into stormy seas with rocks and shoals at either side. It will require constant vigilance and careful men at the helm to avoid wreck, and the sinking of our precious cargo. It is a long voyage, too, before this vessel of promise can reach the haven of equal rights and equal opportunities for all, but she will surely drop anchor there at last.

"THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY."—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*



THE

NATIONALIST

OCTOBER, 1889.

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A QUESTION.

How far a work, the end of which is to demonstrate the brotherhood of man, may be regarded as mischievous and, in the long run, subversive of a real understanding of the problems involved, is a question which has more than one reason for asking. Tolstoi, with his literal interpretations and his one-sided action, has roused the fashionable world temporarily, but already his cult is passing. Such truth as his message holds will still do its work, but not even Tolstoi, with all his passion of earnestness, can alter facts or make injustice to one's personal self the justice that is to right the wrong of the world. Renunciation has its own place, but the low is not made high by levelling the high. Rather it must be lifted till the same horizon stretches before both, nor can such lifting come till consciousness is born that there is such an horizon and that to know it they must climb.

"Fraternity,"—a romance with a Welsh background, the anonymous author of which is, it would seem, an ardent follower of Tolstoi, has been welcomed in England as one of the most practical solutions of the social problem, since the hero who renounces a fortune and settles down among the Welsh quarrymen for the rest of his life, holds as the heart of his creed, that all men are brothers and must share alike. Love is the Redeemer and when all men love one another, no problems will remain, for to help will be the instinct of all. Beggary is and will remain quite legitimate since each would have the right to ask of each, and the rich are simply to give steadily and unceasingly till all are satisfied. For those who work, work is to go on as usual, but high-minded men and women are to live among the workers and make their evenings beautiful with music and poetry and art, and thus the world will gradually regenerate itself, all men in the end recognizing the universal brotherhood.

This is a fair summing up of the book. It has its charming side. There is deep love of nature, much skill in depicting shades of character and the

added attraction of the unfamiliar background of Welsh scenery and customs. But it is none the less a dangerous book, since its aim is to level and not to lift. The essential wrongs of modern civilization are not touched. This halo of general love shimmers over the landscape and encompasses the figures moving in its midst. Clear daylight is excluded. Sharply defined statement has no place, and when the curtain falls no distinct conception of what is needed has been given, and general amiable aimlessness is the only result.

This is not a review of the book in question any more than it is a review of Tolstoi's teachings. It is simply a word of protest born of apprehension at the general acceptance of incoherence and indefiniteness and uncertainty, as the gospel of the day. Love must rule and in the end will rule, but rational love includes justice also, and a thousand questions are before us, in which the method and meaning of justice are the first consideration. Take one most apparent to all of us; that of Production, in the results of which we are all vitally concerned. Are we not all aware that full a third of the material produced has no intrinsic value, but is born of the spirit of competition, and if co-operation were the law of life, would have no further place or use?

This is not a question of over-production. There can never be over-production so long as men and women are hungry and cold and naked, but the labor which receives often a wage at the lowest point of subsistence, is spent, five times out of ten, on superfluous production; the creation of articles having little use and no beauty, and so debasing to maker and user. For this production, women, children, and well nigh babies are hitched to its machinery; the family order invaded, children making up the drooping wages of the father and unheard-of conditions of labor following the introduction of each new form of machine. When this nineteenth century, the century of commerce, is summed up, it will be found to have been not only a century of nuisances, but one in which we have more and more forced the worker into violation of all laws of healthful existence. "Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return," has been the commandment for the living as well as the law for the dead.

It is raw material that we take more and more, as machinery learns to grapple with its crudeness. Out of this raw material and this passage through wheel and shuttle comes dust of "hackling" flax with "an average of fourteen years for strong young girls; dust of emery powder with a shrift of four short weeks for fresh young boys. Dust of Sheffield steel

and grit, crying out to him who holds the tool, 'Quickly unto dust shalt thou return.' Dust of pottery, flint and sand inflicting stone upon the new-born babe; dust of rags with fever in their picking; dust of wools from foreign animals diseased, striking down the sorter; dust of wood, and coal and flour, settling whence it never can be dusted but by the early worm; dust of poisonous paints for flowers and hanging-paper, blotching the children's skin, and sending them home to die; dust of white lead blinding the young and strong, laying wait for the ready feet and willing hands of poor women and girls and making them pendent clay."

This is one phase of modern work, and with dust comes vapor as deadly. "Vapors everywhere. Vapors of lead-making, the workers sick even from Sunday's respite; vapors of muriatic acid from the pickling tin; vapors of choking chlorine from the bleaching chamber; vapors of gas, of steam, usurping air; of phosphorus,—torturing dentist, pulling away not only teeth but jaws from the men's and children's faces."

This is but the beginning of the catalogue to be read of all men in our own Bureau of Labor Reports. It is not the necessities of life that involve all this. It is the innumerable unnecessaries which are simply waste and pillage of life. There is no escape, nor can there be, till a new ideal is born. It is the race for wealth that brings death in its train and no man asks what is the real wealth. It is the meaning of that which must be made plain, till rich and poor alike know its definition. This is to come, but it cannot come till each man's right to the fullest development of every power in him is granted and urged, and till the State sees that every child born in it has this right and is compelled to use it. When this becomes true, fraternity will be something more than a word and a new sense of its meaning will have been born. While it remains untrue and unsought, no gospel of love, no institution, no work of man's hands, can bring the day for which we hope and for the accomplishment of which our work and life and thought are pledged.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

THE CURSE OF CHARITY.

I am glad to know of homes for working women, asylums for invalids, or institutions that in any way help persons to help themselves. It proves that the heart of the world is throbbing with sympathy for those who are destitute of the means and comforts of human life ; and that it is trying to soothe, if it may not heal, afflicted humanity. But for those persons who would organize charities, if it were not for their personal lack of wealth, there is a still nobler work awaiting their most ardent endeavors. Do not waste energy in lamentations but gird up your loins and lift up your heart to the Most High for inspiration to develop such a system of social relations between man and man that the abomination known as charity shall have no slightest foothold. It is degrading in four distinct ways.

First, in cultivating the spirit of my Lady Bountiful who feels calmly superior to those whom she assists, and takes the gratitude of those relieved as her just due. Sometimes, she instills into the minds of her children that it is a happiness to have a poor family on whom to confer benefits and who in return render them homage, thus poisoning the spontaneous relation between children. The very fact that one is able to give, that which one cannot use, to one who is absolutely destitute makes the gulf broader which they would ostensibly span. Unless one believes that no two persons can come in contact without each bearing a valuable lesson for the other, albeit the lesson of the strong is positive and that of the weak negative, — unless one believes that reciprocity is the law between man and man — I think he has lost that deep significance of being without which life is aimless and profitless. Material giving fosters that complacent Phariseeism which is habitual to many engaged in such work, as may be seen from the reports of the committees of charitable institutions, for they rarely if ever give credit for any gain to themselves. In the natural order of things if they met those to whom they minister on a level, that high level that says, *all* are the sons of God, they would gain those deep experiences which alone make life valuable. But some like the distinction of the belief that they are the instruments in God's hands to dole out goods to "God's poor."

"God's poor!" Why can we not recognize that God has provided the earth and all things thereof, and endowed man with the brain to think, the hand to execute, and the heart to desire, in order that all good shall come to every human soul? That God wills not that there shall be any poor?

How do we dare establish charities longer,—and talk of our lovely daughters as though they were cast in a different mould from those other daughters whom we condescendingly reach down to help? *Do* we not *know* of methods whereby all mankind of normal condition will be capable of supplying for themselves not only the necessities, but the luxuries of life : in fact, those things which now form the dividing line between those who condescend and those condescended to? Refined superciliousness on one side and meek subserviency on the other!—I like rather the courage to starve, or the cunning to steal, than cringing acceptance of the means of life, after one has made an honest endeavor to obtain it and failed because of injustice.

Then comes the second pernicious result. The receiving of charity saps the very springs of self-respect. It is a confession of failure. Viewed within a limited range one is forced to believe that the fault lies only within one's self. One sees on all sides men succeed in building up such colossal fortunes as the world has never before seen, and narrowly reasons that all could if they had the ability ; not seeing the larger fact, that, if more men were gaining large wealth, a few men would be unable to amass such immense fortunes. Yet the man who fails does know that men are pushed to the wall by this resistless system of competition and he duly resolves to take what comes to him and bear it with as little feeling as possible, and so sinks back and represses the very qualities that make the difference between a man conscious through high endeavor and lofty aspiration of his kinship with the Powers that be, and a fawning slave, who tries to content himself with bare existence and accepts as fate that some persons are destined to have a superabundance and others are to live upon their bounty.

A third and disastrous effect of charity on character is to blunt the sense of courtesy and justice and create dishonesty. The popular version has it the more you give the more you may. How often have we seen this effect that after assistance is rendered several times it is taken as a matter of course, even demanded ; the giver treated with insolent disregard and, if opportunity affords, his possessions appropriated as common property?

The fourth and most enervating effect of charity is upon the world at large. It has many phases : it is absurd : it is extravagant : it is unscientific : it is immoral and irreligious.

It is absurd to plaster here and there, when the whole system is diseased and needs fundamental treatment.

It is extravagant because a large part of the wealth and energy employed in charity goes to create the very condition that it would dissipate. The more institutions we establish the more in increasing ratio there are to fill them.

It is unscientific because it does not seek the cause of poverty by carrying investigation back to the modern method of supplying physical wants and forward to the legitimate result of the system. Neither does it classify poverty so that we may know whether it be commercial, physical, mental or moral debility before applying a remedy.

It is immoral because it fosters the belief that the causes of poverty are inherent in the nature of things, — phenomena to be mitigated, but not eradicated. Immoral, too, because it preaches that some must go to the wall in order that others may ascend to the top round of the material ladder: which is complacently declared to be the law of the survival of the fittest. Is it indeed morally fitter that we allow greed and malevolence rather than fraternity and love to rule our lives? Morality asserts that justice is the exact proportion between man and man. Is charity justice?

It is irreligious because it practically denies the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. All true men feel the degradation of seeing a fellow man treated with less considerate kindness than they deem due to their dearest loved one; "even as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

Perhaps, too, the most immediate and persistent defeat to the high attainments of individual life is charity in its less ostentatious forms. Let one accept a costly present from one whom he dearly loves but to whom he cannot return equivalent benefit: the result almost sure to follow is, either the giving over of a little personality; a slight lowering of independence of thought and expression; a subtle confession of inferiority, or a degree of resentment, more or less bitter, because material wealth gives one the advantage over another, especially if he feels that moral and intellectual force should rule the world. For close friendship (that relation which gives the best that one is unreservedly to another, with whom no subject is in the slightest degree tabooed) to be reciprocal and unrestrained there must be a level plain of mutual advantage on which each rests. One pulls down his worth greatly if he sells in the slightest degree his vigor of mind to the host under whose mahogany he puts his feet: because, forsooth he is not able to return the compliment in kind.

Only rare souls can place and hold themselves up to that high point where no personality is sacrificed under such circumstances.

And if it be true that we adapt ourselves to our environment, is it not important that conditions be such that they stimulate our truest and loftiest endeavor? The fishes that swim in the pools of Mammoth Cave have no eyes. Is it possible for man and woman to sustain that high relation to each other that is native to them so long as man has control of the purse-strings and doles out with more or less show of superiority the price of the necessities or luxuries of living? To step into a deeper sphere of life, can mankind fulfil its destiny until man gives over the idea, in any form, of condescension to woman, and woman consents to guide her life according to her deeper intuitions and loftier reasonings? When this right time comes, man will have lost somewhat of authority, it is true, but he will have gained thereby an inherent right: that of the companionship of woman, his *co-mate*. Woman will have gained for the first time in human history the freedom to develop her consciously Godlike power of creation and will give to the world such moral and intellectual giants as the great poet promises.

"Then reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm,
Then springs the crowning race of human kind."

That these things may be, let us carry forward the principle of equity along all lines: some of which are already developing in organized movements; and a strong tendency to organized movement is seen in all recent institutions both political and moral.

This principle is so broad that it admits persons of all shades of opinion and grades of ability to enter the field. Those who do not work in the positive direction must perforce work in the negative, for as we glance down the page of history we find the whole trend of civilization to be towards a system of government that shall afford all persons scope, not only to develop the entire range of their industrial, intellectual, and physical faculties, but also the opportunity of applying their acquirements.

Just what final form such Nationalism will take we must leave the future to decide. But we are firm in the faith that it will be far grander than we now can picture and that a realization of the lower heights is within our near grasp.

MARTHA M. AVERY.

IS OUR CIVILIZATION A FAILURE?

Last year, when the newspaper discussion on marriage was in progress, one correspondent expressed a displeased surprise that such an inquiry should be raised at all, and said that the disputants might with equal waste of time debate "Is Civilization a Failure?" He was evidently unaware that many thinking persons do ask themselves that question and that, moreover, they answer it in the affirmative. He had not realized that all times are transition times, nor that the present differ from preceding times in that they are conscious of their transition state. He did not understand that society has not yet arrived at perfection in its arrangements; did not perceive that there lies before it a better plan. The question that seemed to him the extreme of absurdity is the great question of the day, interesting to each one of us because it concerns each one, wider than the marriage question, yet including it and possessing the power to settle it eventually.

It is beyond my scope in this article to review the various civilizations that, at various times in the world's history, have flourished and passed away; my purpose is to examine whether or not nineteenth century civilization is a failure, and consequently whether its disappearance and its replacement by another should be anticipated with dread or with hope. Here, at the outset, I shall leave behind me those who, like the aggrieved correspondent in the London Telegraph, hold it sacrilegious to doubt the wisdom of any established arrangement of things; who, though aware of change in the past, cannot see it in the future; for whom social evolution has come to an abrupt standstill; and to whom "Whatever is, must be" seems a sufficient motto. But I shall perhaps be followed, though timidly, by those who, disliking and distrusting change, yet conceive it possible and sometimes fear it probable. And I hope to be accompanied by the many who are constituted otherwise, who, freely thinking and nothing dreading, look every subject fairly in the face, and not only foresee a future unlike the present, but feel a distinct desire to help in shaping it according to the fashion that seems to them good. These are always ready to welcome inquiry, always willing to listen to argument, while reserving the right of agreement or disagreement.

The word civilization, being derived from *civis*, a citizen, denotes the living-together of human beings in large communities and permanent dwellings; and present civilization is the result of a long experiment of

this kind, extending through very many centuries. Its success or its failure, then, can be tested by the presence or absence among the nations of general prosperity, happiness, and right-doing. Have we found out how to live together prosperously, happily, and righteously?

First: *Are civilized countries prosperous?* It does not answer this question to point to the geographical size of empires, to the number of millions living under one rule, to the growth of population, to the discoveries and inventions of science, to the spread of education, or even to the annual increase of material wealth. A rich country is not necessarily a prosperous country. All the civilized world over, there is no lack of natural wealth, nor of the industry that transforms it into the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life; for vast numbers of men, women, and children toil daily far harder than is good for them, and iron and steam are brought into the service also. Yet, while wealth abounds, prosperity holds aloof. Warehouses and shops are crammed with goods, but outside stand people too poor to buy; the well-supplied are few, and the needy are very many. For all to consume, for all to enjoy, for all to prosper, those things which make existence comfortable and pleasurable must not only be produced, but distributed. And what is it that hinders? The means of production — land, mines, machinery, etc., — are held by individuals, who can grant or withhold their use. Modern civilization claims to have abolished slavery; it has only modified the slave-system; for now, as before, the possession of the means whereby men live, gives power over the lives of men. The slave produces wealth, the master still takes it from him, sells it, and possesses the proceeds, giving back a small portion as wages and sometimes another small portion as charity. Nor is this compulsory laboring to make another man rich the only ill-effect of private capitalism on the producers; for over-employment alternates with non-employment, and able-bodied men whose wives and children look to them for food are denied the right to use their labor-force. The power to hire being in the hands of individuals, work is not to be had for the asking, and cannot be had without. There is always a large surplus of workers trying to get work; and besides these, there are a number of the lower class who do not attempt the impossible, such as beggars, habitual tramps, pickpockets, burglars, prize-fighters, prostitutes, artists who chalk colored pictures on the pavement, street-sellers of trumpery toys, street musicians — none of whom need seek a living that way, if honest useful labor were obtainable and profitable. Society feels a good deal of misplaced anger against these

people. They cannot live without money. How to get money without producing money's worth — that is the problem which confronts them and which they are all solving in their various ways. Since there are more than a million workers out of work in the United States, a hundred thousand in London, and tens of thousands in other cities ; since there are so many respectable men and women willing to work and yet forbidden to, it is futile to blame the criminal classes for not working. Nay, it is unfair to punish them, *and it is useless*. Yet society goes on punishing in a costly way ; prisons and warders have to be paid for, and the unfortunate rate-payers are taxed for the purpose. The unemployed are to be found in the middle class also, and they increase there year by year. Like causes have like results ; and in this class, the necessity of making a living without helping in the absolutely needed work of the world produces a host of people whose careers are harmful either to themselves or others, such as speculators, peculators, gamblers, card-sharppers, coiners, impostors, writers of "penny dreadfuls" and of "shilling-shockers," circus-performers, acrobats, etc. Employment — by which most persons live — is a thing to be competed for, and it is so difficult to get that in some instances they pay fees for it. The sweating system enters into many departments of occupation pursued by the middle class ; hospital-nurses, needle-women, painters of Christmas cards and of other artistic trifles, are all sweated, and the lady of reduced circumstances is as hardly treated in the matter as her sisters of a lower grade. The cry of the middle-class parent grows louder : "What shall we do with our sons? What shall we do with our daughters?" Young men and women are anxious with an anxiety unsuited to their youthfulness ; for, paradoxical though it may seem, the result of the Individualistic system is that the individual finds he is not wanted. Is it by instituting lady-guides in London, and by hiring musical ladies to play to us in our homes, that life is to be made easy for the competitors of the great middle class? I think not. These two schemes, lately put forward in the newspapers, are but two more devices for absorbing a few of the many who are shut out from useful occupations. And, meanwhile, new machinery displaces larger and larger numbers. Science and invention, too, are making more critical the position of those who are obliged to compete ; the phonograph is just now the object of much admiration from the class which it will injure ; they do not seem yet to have foreseen that when phonographs have become general, the services of many lecturers, reciters, singers and instrumentalists will be dispensed with. Life might be

so beautiful and pleasant, if it were orderly ; but under the established disorder of things, it means for the majority an anxious scramble. Prosperous we are not.

Secondly: *Does civilization make for happiness?* Society is made up of classes, and each class has its troubles which are inseparable from it. Even those who profit by the present system also suffer from it, and neither royalty nor aristocracy, neither landlords nor capitalists, are much to be envied. Where, then, shall we look for happiness? Among struggling professionals, careworn men of business, among girls who stand behind the counter all day long or advertise themselves as "cheerful" companions for old and crotchety ladies, among factory-hands, policemen, convicts, among the underpaid of various ranks, the unemployed, the over-employed, the painfully-employed? Or among the successful? But they also are often harassed by the excessive work brought upon them through their success. Bewildered dissatisfaction is the usual feeling, rising often into acute distress, the outward signs of which are emigration, suicide, insanity, paralysis, and other varieties of nervous disease. Happiness exists chiefly among children ; yet in the lower classes many perish from neglect or cruel usage, child-labor is common because it is cheap and even babies are hired out to professional beggars, the wretchedness of their appearance constituting their value for the purpose : while in the middle classes, unlucky are the children who show talent as actors, dancers, or players, for they are apt to be regarded as mere machines for money earning, and are worked without consideration for their health. Are even the animals happy? Not those who come in contact with the social system ; horses tortured by bearing-reins, birds slaughtered for their pretty plumage—these are sacrificed to fashion ; dog-fights, cock-fights, and races take place as an occasion for betting ; and from the lion down, even to the flea, animals are made to do violence to their nature, performing tricks that bring money into the pockets of their owners. Newspapers, which describe real life, and novels, which reflect it, are melancholy reading ; even most drawing-room songs are sad. The world is so unhappy !

Thirdly: *Has civilization made people good?* Nay, how can it, since its great commandment is : "Thou shalt compete against thy neighbor" ? Truthfulness, honesty, consideration for others do not flourish under such a rule as that ; but we have instead selfishness, want of sympathy, cheating, adulteration of goods, and the making of worthless cheap wares. Competitors are indifferent to each other's welfare ; they are even glad of

each other's failure, because they find their advantage in it. Compassion is deadened in them by the overwhelming necessity they are under, of "making" money. Sometimes an instance of this startles the public. It is only a year ago that a professional contortionist got possession of a little child by the promise of training it to earn its own living, and he proceeded so to prepare it by daily bending and twisting its limbs, regardless of its screams, until the neighbors (who had no money-interest in the training) complained. The comfortable classes were shocked; some persons blamed the mother for giving up her little one, some blamed the contortionist for cruelty; yet the real cause of the hideous event was not the sinfulness of human nature. The man pleaded that he had been trained in the same way himself, that he wanted the boy as an assistant in his performances, and that he was, in fact, doing him a service for which he would be thankful in after life. The magistrate ordered the child to be returned to the mother, and society felt appeased, not caring to reflect that a social system which makes one such case of brutality will, and must, go on making plenty more.

The division of a nation into classes produces certain faults peculiar to each class. It so accustoms people to absence of justice that many have not a clear idea of the meaning of the word; and in their minds, justice, instead of being synonymous with equity, is synonymous with punishment; and as they do not rightly apprehend the word, so neither do they care for the thing; they never feel that *inequity is iniquity*. All they want is a pretence of justice, an assertion that it exists; our laws, which are such respecters of persons, are said by them to be "equal for rich and poor," though they can see daily in their newspapers that the poor man goes to prison for the same offence which the rich man compounds for by a fine. In like manner, they call England "a free country," and boast of its liberty of meeting, speech and press, acquiescing the while in every instance of suppression. Civilized countries have few virtues, but they assume many. They have a show of justice, but the lower-class offender is not tried by his peers; a show of popular suffrage, while the propertiless man has one vote and the man of property several; a show of philanthropy, the object of which is to keep the poor in the poverty imposed upon them; a show of monogamy, with prostitution lurking in the background; a show of belief in every gentleman's honor, and yet a custom in gentlemen's clubs of using a new pack of cards at each game, for fear of cheating. The unreality to be found in civilized institutions extends itself to

minute matters ; thus, one individual is called " noble," because he has a title, and another is called a " manufacturer," who never made anything with his hands ; a third is said to have " built his house himself," although he only paid for its building, and a fourth to have " made his own fortune," whereas he really employed other people to make it for him. Confusion of thought and confusion of language act and re-act upon each other, and the " nobleman," " manufacturer," and " self-made man " receive credit that they do not deserve.

Is our civilization a failure? Yes ; for the evils enumerated in this indictment are not accidental or temporary ; they are an inevitable part of the present social system. They are, moreover, the larger part of it ; for my remarks have been suggestive rather than exhaustive. I shall be blamed perhaps for looking on the dark side ; but I reply that it is the condemnation of nineteenth century civilization that it has this dark side to be looked upon ; and that since these things are true, they ought not to be ignored.

Not content, but discontent, is our duty — a discontent that shall not rest until these evils have ceased. Our social system is founded on injustice and supported by force ; it gives the land on which all must live into the possession of a few ; it gives capital to the class which has not produced it ; it keeps royal paupers in palaces, aristocratic paupers in castles, and paupers who have deserved better of their country in work-houses ; it sets idleness in high places, treats labor with contempt, lets the poacher be tried by landowners, and leaves the greatest criminal of all — the millionaire — unashamed ; it squanders colossal sums upon war, and meets the demands of workmen for work and wages with an indignant, helpless cry of " Where is the money to come from ? " Under this system, unhappiness is the rule and happiness the exception, ailments are common, sound health is rare, want is always for the majority, and inequality is so excessive that the very dolls of the children of one class are better clothed than the children of another class. It has no hope to offer. Its upholders preach industry, thrift, temperance, and technical education. But the word, " industry," is a sarcasm in the ears of him who is refused work or who suffers from overwork ; thrift is not needed by the poor, for what they require is more purchasing-power, more opportunity to enjoy ; temperance cannot prevail, while misery drives the miserable to drink ; and technical education, under a competitive system, will only make better wage-slaves for the capitalists. Finally, some comforters declare that the only remedy

is "a good war!" This is the comforting of despair. Civilization has been a long experiment, and as yet it has failed. Man has reason to be proud of his ascent from lower animals, but in this matter the gregarious among them are wiser than he; ants and bees have no class always suffering and poor; but human beings, notwithstanding their great advance, have not yet succeeded in living together prosperously, happily, and uprightly.

Away with it, then, this Individualism, this discordant life, with its ruling of class by class, its oppression of sex by sex, its courts of injustice, its hypocrisy, its misleading parlance, its vicarious work, its clashing interests, its shocking contrasts, its hurry and its worry! Let it go! Why should we regret it? The anguished world needs something better. It needs a social system founded upon the initial justice of common property in the means of producing and transporting wealth; a system supported by universal industry; free from class; equal for man and woman. Such a system will welcome its citizens from their birth; will allow none to profit by the necessity or misfortune of others; will make identical the interests of each and all; will foster no self-seeking and no pauperism, but instead the recognition and fulfilment of mutual duties. Under it, the connection between the individual and the community will be intimate and continual; government will be replaced by administration; it will be difficult to do wrong and easy to do right; then will come to life a true morality, a full happiness, and poverty, misery, tyranny, war, theft, madness, and suicide will become forgotten words.

Now—in these last days of Capitalism—we can see the steps by which the new system is approaching. Let us welcome, when it comes, the perfected civilization of the future!

CONSTANCE HOWELL

THE NEW POINT OF VIEW.

There is no man or woman who has considered the present conditions and their tendencies and who has tried to work towards the alleviation of present wrongs and abuses, but has been discouraged by the inadequacy of such means as presented themselves,—or appalled by the opposite nature of the results achieved. The something “rotten in Denmark,” always seems to lie deeper than the little surface plaster can reach and, if we attempt to find a more thorough remedy for individual ills, we end by creating that which we wished to cure. Thus we have the curious spectacle of constantly growing poverty and misery, with constantly multiplying, but futile efforts to prevent it. Every city is a network of institutions and charities, yet every year the rich grow richer, the poor poorer,—until even in this new world, we find a class, a very large class, growing up about us, whose outlook is as hopeless as that of their kindred in the old world—with the bitterness added, of being in the promised land, but unable to partake of the fruit thereof.

The point of view from which we have heretofore looked at everything human was that of individual sovereignty—the right of the individual to his possessions, his gifts, his strength, his power, to use for his own benefit, glory and aggrandizement and for the subjection of his fellow creatures. Our system gives continually more to those who already possess an abundance, while it deprives the poor of incentive and makes inherited weakness or disability a crime to be punished with life-long deprivation. There are rich men in this age who feel the cruel injustice of this state of things, who have given up their property to the poor, and have joined the ranks of the workers for daily bread. There are bodies of men, the trades-unions, who recognize the principle of equality of need and so demand, for the hours occupied, an equal rate of pay for the unskilled and indifferent, as for the skilled and earnest laborer. These signs of the times indicate the new point of view to which they are tending: that which recognizes a true brotherhood in humanity: that which demands from all a contribution to the common stock of productive or helpful effort: that which will make all gifts, whether largeness of mind, strength of body, or the power to accumulate wealth, Trusts—to be rejoiced in, but to be used for the common good.

That there is no pleasure or satisfaction in selfish acquisition, the intelligence of the world is beginning to understand. A curse attends the pos-

session of wealth, or power or any faculty that is not put to good uses. We are devoured by ambition, by dissatisfaction, by ennui: our hopes crumble, our desires fail of realization, and we say that all is vanity and vexation, because we have cultivated these and have grown a full crop. The new gospel is the old one systemized and applied to practical everyday life: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This does not mean the giving up of tastes or inclinations, but the cultivation of them through means which are open to all, and of which all can avail themselves, whose gifts are worth cultivating in this direction. The three most common things are the three most valued and valuable: air, movement, water. One may love and desire warmth, refinement, luxury and the softness of blended colors, the gentleness of fine stuffs and fabrics, the freedom from the rude influences of a life environed by material beauty and comfort: yet would heaven be heaven, if one human being were forever shut out? I think all heaven would set to work to rescue that poor one! In the meantime, under present conditions, it seems better to share the lot of the poor than the temptation to pride and arrogance of the rich. To be a worker is to be a part of the useful life of the world—to be a good worker is to be part of the ministry of God. To be idle is to be a cumberer of the ground; and to be idle and luxurious is to take the fruits of the soil that other hands have tilled and which do not belong to us.

The highest point that the new gospel has reached is the recognized right to the participation of all in whatever life has to bestow, simply on the score of their humanity. There are only men and women in this world, and neither of them, individually, deserves any credit for the natural endowments with which they come provided. It is a matter for which king or beggar is in no way responsible and which should not be visited upon them—either with praise or blame, reward or punishment. But this is what we have done, and what we do. We punish poverty, weakness, or the absence of desirable qualities, as crimes, thus adding to the misery of those who are unfortunates by birth, and we put strength upon a pinnacle, relieve it from all necessity for practical exercise and pile its burdens upon the shoulders of the weak. This is not the way to share each other's burdens, and thus fulfil the law of Christ. It does not seem in the light of Mr. Bellamy's inspired book, as if the day of redemption need be so very far off. It is only a near application of an already known principle. It is applied to our postal system which makes strong, populous cities like New York and Philadelphia pay for the equal facilities

extended to outlying towns and districts in the territories. Once our present system of individual accumulation and pauperization is abandoned, many difficulties which now seem insurmountable will disappear. There will be infinitely less individual strain. Every one will be employed according to capacity and become more healthy and happy. Pauper institutions, penal institutions, and charitable institutions will be largely done away with and those that are required will be conducted on more natural and common-sense principles; and sustained from a point of view that will render them less obnoxious and better fitted to perform their work. It ought to be a joy, not a burden, to take care of the helpless young and the helpless old. It ought to be a privilege to rescue those upon whom the weight of unexpected misfortune falls. Yet these duties cannot be left to individuals, — for single shoulders cannot bear the weight imposed upon them already. It is the State to which belongs this responsibility and only to the best men and women should be entrusted the task of carrying out its humane designs. And, especially it is time that women considered the matter of their personal responsibility in the light of the new awakening — in the light of their obligations as one-half of the human family. Let us begin immediately; begin at home; begin by doing more for ourselves and expecting less from others. Let us abolish servants and treat with consideration and kindness those who do the work we should find it difficult to perform for ourselves. We need not wait for universal acceptance of the gospel of the kingdom, before endeavoring to express it in our own lives, while working for its more perfect realization by the world at large.

JENNIE JUNE.

TOKENS.

Hast thou in all the world a friend?
 Then know it by this lofty token:
 Thou hast to him the sharp truth spoken
 And still Love's Chain has not been broken:
 Such friendship has no end.

Hast thou found Love in all the sphere?
 Then know it by this perfect token:
 Thy love was never known or spoken
 And still thy joy was all unbroken:
 Such love the stars revere!

GEORGE N. MILLER.

CO-OPERATIVE EXPERIMENTS.

They are the most clamorous in their opposition to Nationalism, or National co-operation, who are the most ignorant of what it proposes, and of the tentative small beginnings of movements that are not only prefatory, but prophetic. It would require a large volume to give a history of the various co-operative movements in the United States, many of which have resulted in disastrous failure, while much the larger part have been attended with success. "The aggregate annual co-operative transactions of the United States," says Prof. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, "may be safely estimated at over two hundred millions of dollars." While the history of co-operation in America abounds in stories of loss and failure, yet never was the co-operative movement in our country more live and vigorous than today.

While women can never be indifferent to these movements for productive and distributive co-operation, since they are already large factors in the industrial world, and are yearly increasing in numerical force, all women are turning sympathetically to the much discussed question of co-operative housekeeping. The indications thicken about us that the process is to continue which has already transferred one industry after another from the home to the outside world of organized business. For, notwithstanding so many kinds of work have been slowly taken out of the hands of the housekeeper, the standard of home life has become so elevated, and the service called for in a household so complicated, that any one woman must be a very accomplished and executive person who is adequate to its demands. A good housekeeper today must know how to purchase for the needs of her family; how to use money to advantage; how to cook economically, and yet cater to refined and healthy appetites; how to wash, starch, fold, and iron; how to make and repair garments, sometimes manufacturing new things out of old; how to care for the house that it may always be cleanly, hygienic, and attractive; how to maintain order, system, and economy in every department; and how to rear children in physical well-being, and to give wise and loving supervision to their moral, mental, and industrial training.

In addition, she should know how to make of the home a delightful social centre, in which the husband may rest and recuperate from the ravages of daily toil and business, and the children be brought into easy and friendly relations with the young people of other families, which is very

necessary to their happiness and future welfare. All these considerations enter into the management of even a moderate home today. They call for a great diversity of natural aptitudes, which is rarely found in one woman. Women who are equal to all these varied and complicated duties, are very much superior to the average man, and with training and experience could successfully fill almost any position. So deplorable is the lack of competent—or, indeed, of incompetent—household servants, that mothers of families are weighed down with work and care, and home life everywhere is full of imperfections, discomforts, and disorder. There are only about thirty thousand servants in the city of New York, to its more than two hundred and seventy thousand families, so that in our wealthiest city, the wives and mothers of nine families in ten must do all their own work as entirely as if they lived on the prairies, exemplifying the old saw of being “Jacks at all trades, and good at none.”

For these ills and worries there is but one remedy. *The isolated house-keeping must be merged into a co-operative housekeeping.* To many, this change which is impending forebodes only disaster. It will prove the destruction of the home, they predict, the disintegration of the family. “Such a change is not even possible as an experiment!” writes one of its bitterest opponents in the *Popular Science Monthly*. And yet for twenty-five years there has been in existence a very successful experiment in co-operative housekeeping, on a large scale. The location is in Guise, in France, about one hundred miles north-east of Paris, and every student of social tendencies who goes abroad, turns out of his way to inspect this associated home, with its co-operative housekeeping. No one has brought back an unfavorable report.

It began in 1860, with six hundred persons, and now includes in the organization about two thousand. Not only do they co-operate in house-keeping, but in the care and education of children. Three large main buildings have been erected for their accommodation, which are united with each other, and in which their families are grouped. For the family relation is most carefully guarded in this unitary home, and each family occupies its own suite of apartments, for which it pays a fixed rental, according to the location and number of rooms occupied. The central buildings enclose large rotundas and halls, distinct suites of rooms for families, library, schoolrooms, nurseries, and other needed apartments. All the floors are tiled to promote cleanliness, and as a preventive to fire, and perfect ventilation is secured through all. Ample arrangements are made

for fire, water, heat, ventilation, drainage, and sewerage, each system being perfect in itself, with its particular men assigned to it for duty. At proper distances, and surrounding the main buildings, are the co-operative laundry and work-shops, chapel and office.

The families in this home can cook in their own kitchens, if they choose, and as they all co-operate in purchasing the housekeeping stores, there is great saving in the materials used. Or they can buy cooked food, hot and freshly prepared for every meal, and take their meals in their own dining rooms. Or they can be served at the public table. Hot and cold water is served to every family, even if its rooms are at the top of the house, as the reservoirs are on the roof, into which the water from artesian wells is forced by a steam-engine. Sixty large wash-tubs are set in the laundry, and the water is expelled from the clothes by centrifugal force, which does not injure them as wringing does. Tanks supplied with hot and cold water furnish bathing and swimming accommodations, and as they have movable wooden bottoms, they can be adjusted to the height of adults or children. All the buildings are lighted through the night, and are patrolled by night watchmen, while a perfect fire organization is maintained among the members. Careful provision is made for the care of the old when they cannot work, for the sick when they are unable to do their share of the co-operating labor, and for the payment for medicine, nurses, and medical attendance. Not once in the twenty-five years has there been a single lawsuit or police case among the members of this co-operative home.

This association was founded by one man of wealth, large hearted and large brained, who planned the whole scheme, and who furnished the capital. The participation of labor in this organization has been eight times larger than that of capital. But so great have been the profits of this co-operative association that the workers have come to own nearly one third of the social capital, which is \$1,320,000. At no very distant day they must own the whole. Who can estimate the happiness of this associated life, where every family enjoys complete family retracy, and yet has a common industrial life, founded on justice, that secures abundance and guards against poverty !

In America, co-operative housekeeping schemes have made very slow progress, because of the hitherto general abundance. Where people are very certain to make a tolerable living with very ordinary thrift, they lack the incentive to combine and organize to reduce their expenses, and

so maintain a collective capital, that shall yield a collective income. But what poverty of means might not compel, poverty of good household service is likely to effect, at no very distant day. Only because the co-operative kitchen and laundry are not easy to organize and conduct, have they been so long unattempted, or, when attempted, have they resulted in failure. But the beginnings of these organizations crop out everywhere. An attempt at co-operative housekeeping was made in Cambridge, Mass., some twenty or more years ago, which was a pre-destined failure, from the fact that there was really no practical co-operation in the scheme. The co-operative laundry was the only part of the plan managed with any wisdom, and that was made successful.

I meet co-operative kitchens and dining-clubs in various places in the country, resulting in success or failure, according as they are managed. At Ann Arbor, Michigan, where there is a large student population, no dormitory system connected with the university, and a lack of hotel and boarding accommodations, students have been driven to combine and co-operate. In the students' clubs, with which I have become acquainted, their food, excellent in quality, quantity, and variety, and well cooked generally, costs each one from one dollar forty cents to one dollar seventy-five cents per week.

In one of my later visits to the town, I found that a large number of families had gone into a co-operative dining-club, not so much to save money, as to rid themselves of the servant-girl problem. They were mostly old housekeepers, and demanded a more elaborate bill of fare than the students. A steward elected from their number bought for the club by the wholesale, and made out, collected, and paid bills. A superintendent, also chosen from their number, took charge of the servants, kitchen, and dining-room, made out the bills of fare, and, in short, was the responsible head of the club. These two were paid a fixed weekly stipend. I was the guest of the club for three days. Many of the members preferred to take their meals in the club dining room, others took only dinner, others preferred to have all their meals sent to their own dining-rooms, which increased the expense to them. There were carpets on the club dining-room floors, lace curtains draping the windows, pictures on the walls, birds singing in cages, flowers growing in pots. The table waiters were deft-handed, well-trained girls, table linen spotless, the silver, glass, and china, clear and shining, the cooking excellent. There were five courses at dinner, and the breakfasts and suppers were all that could be desired.

And this was furnished, three meals a day, at an average of two dollars seventy cents per week, to each member of the club.

At Berea, Ohio, where there is a student population, and where they have a co-operative dining-club, meals are furnished to each co-operator, excellent in quality, and abundant, for nine cents a meal. A co-operative dining-club has been established in Evansville, Wis., where I was a guest last fall. A company was formed, a house bought and fitted up for its use, a superintendent, steward, and treasurer elected, and the experiment begun. The members are mostly long-time housekeepers who desire to save money, time, labor, and the waste and worry of servants. A five per cent dividend was paid the stock-holders the first year, and the cost of the meals averaged to the co-operator about two dollars and fifty cents each week.

A year ago last September a company was incorporated in New York for the purpose of serving families with cooked meals, over a wide area. To do this satisfactorily, dishes, boxes, and two-horse wagons were specially constructed for the company's use. In the kitchen of the company, the meals for the families are put up in silver-plated dishes, with tight covers, all of which fit exactly into a large copper box with double walls. The space between the double walls is filled with boiling water. The copper boxes are covered, and the covers securely fastened on, when ten of them are put into a close wagon, with doors in the rear, and inserted in a tank where there are appliances for generating steam which envelopes the food-boxes till they reach their destination. The heat of the box can be maintained for any length of time, by placing it over an ordinary gas or alcohol lamp, which will maintain the heat of the boiling water between the double walls.

Bread, butter, sugar, salads, ice-cream, etc., are packed in a cool box in the same wagon and in summer in a refrigerator built into the wagon. The breakfast consists of fruit in season; oat-meal, wheaten grits, or some other dish to be eaten with milk; fish, steak, or chops; a side dish such as stewed kidneys, sausage, liver, or bacon; eggs; coffee, tea, or chocolate; milk, sugar, bread and butter. The dinner is composed of soup, fish, an *entree*, a roast, potatoes and two other vegetables, some kind of sauce, or preserves, a desert, bread and butter, tea, coffee, etc., all of the best quality. What is furnished for two is sufficient for three, so abundant is the quantity, and so many are the courses served. One person is charged twelve dollars per week, but two are charged only

eighteen dollars. And as the order for two suffices for three, that brings the cost to each of the three individuals to six dollars a week. As more persons combine, the cost becomes less, so that where five unite in ordering their meals, the price is reduced to four dollars seventy-five cents a week to each person. This is the result of co-operation to people who are not poor, but have ample means, and who only desire to rid the house of cooks, and their waste and disorder.

A similar company was formed in Boston some two or three years ago, under the name of the "Boston Food Supply Company," whose methods were similar to those of the New York organization. We heard it highly commended, and know that it furnished meals to its patrons along their route, at greatly reduced expense, in as perfect a state as at the best managed hostelry. Of its financial success, or present condition, I have no means of knowing. It is evident that the housekeeping of the future is to be co-operative. Women are rapidly learning to organize and work together. In their temperance unions, their clubs, congresses, and charitable organizations, in church, missionary, and society work, they are learning what can be accomplished by a union of plans and action. The country is covered with a net-work of women's organizations formed for every conceivable purpose. It needs but little encouragement from husbands and fathers, who are mainly the purse-holders, to inaugurate co-operative kitchens and laundries, which will diminish expense, and increase comfort and happiness. Let the happy hour be not too long delayed! For the business organizations of men, which have taken so many industrial employments from the home, wait to seize those remaining, when the saving in money will not accrue to the housekeepers, but to the outside business world.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

A CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

THE KAWEAH COLONY.

The actual existence of a Co-operative Commonwealth based on the principles advocated by the NATIONALIST will be a pleasant surprise to many, and, it is hoped, will prove a home-thrust at the gloomy forebodings of the "croakers" whose final argument is, was, and always will be, "it can't be done." The social problem being yet in a chaotic condition, there is ample scope for the most dismal speculation, and the opportunity for a pessimistic wail is generally well improved. Therefore, it is refreshing to be able to score a tangible victory for our side.

Some three years ago, a Co-operative Colony was formed, embodying in its constitution the principles laid down in Laurence Grönlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth." The projectors were all students of political economy, and had for several years been recognized as leaders of the labor movement on the Pacific Coast. Among them were John H. Redstone, Burnette G. Haskell, W. C. Owen, and P. Ross Martin, all of whom are at present active members of the Colony, and who all have acquired, more or less, a national reputation in the labor movement. The experience of these men, who had faced large audiences night after night, and who had written column after column, upon labor topics, led them to believe that movement would be the most successful, which gave employment to the workingman and enabled him to "work out his own salvation." It was found that there is nothing in the laws to prevent labor from organizing and conducting its own affairs co-operatively; being its own Capitalist, Monopolist, Advocate, Judge and King. It was worse than folly then to rail against Monopolists and the existing state of things, while the wage-worker held in his own hands the key to his shackles, but was too indolent or ignorant to use it. Investigation proved that natural resources were acquirable, and labor abundant. The next requisite was sufficient capital, and competent direction. These were found and secured, and pioneers were set to work.

The location selected for the theatre of operations was in every way desirable, the natural resources ample, and the climate pleasant and healthful. The only drawback was its almost inaccessible position. The "Croaker" shook his head and said: "it can't be done." The Capitalist said: "it will take a quarter of a million." The students of Marx and

Grönlund said : " Labor is King, and he decrees that it *shall* be done," and lo, it *is* done. For nearly twenty miles, winding through canons and deep ravines, or climbing among rocky peaks and precipices, these disciples of Marx, Grönlund, and Bellamy have worked determinedly, patiently, and unremittingly, until their task is at last nearly accomplished. They have built, it is conceded, the finest mountain road in the State, and have unlocked the door to one of nature's richest store-houses.

This Colony, known as " Kaweah Colony," is delightfully situated in the verdant foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in California, on the North fork of the Kaweah River, about a hundred miles south of the far-famed Yosemite Valley, and near where colossal Mount Whitney lifts its snow-capped peak to the sky ; and is distant about thirty-five miles from Visalia, the county seat of Tulare County. Within its territory, owing to its varying grades of altitude, are embraced three distinct degrees of climate, and a corresponding range and capacity of production ; for which reason the region in and around Kaweah is most admirably fitted for co-operative effort. Of the various orders of mineral, and vegetable production, it has been said, California can produce ninety per cent. If this be so, Kaweah can produce at least ninety per cent of the California products. This concentration of natural resources at one point insures an inexpensive and rapid exchange of the products of labor ; something very essential to co-operative success. All things considered, the Pacific Coast is probably better fitted, as a field for co-operative effort on a large scale, than any other portion of the globe.

The objects of the Colony are set forth in its constitution as follows :—

"The general nature of the business to be transacted is to engage in the production and distribution of wealth, the collection, extraction of raw material, its fashioning by hand-craft and machine-craft into commodities, the culture of both animal and vegetable product, the production of food, clothing, shelter, machinery and any and all other articles of convenience, necessity or luxury, the establishment of proper methods of distribution, transportation and storage, the establishment of just and correct systems of credit, account and exchange, the building of houses for ourselves and families, their co-operative administration, the arbitration and just settlement of disputes between ourselves, the practice among ourselves of just systems of social organization, the education of ourselves and our children in proper physical, mental, moral, intellectual, and artistic lines, to improve the health, secure the happiness and perfect the well-being of each and every member. And as well to propagate and extend in the world at large the idea of universal and just co-operation."

The administration is thoroughly democratic, all having an equal voice and vote at the legislative assemblies of the Commonwealth. The executive consists of a board of five Trustees, elected by the members, who

serve until they resign, or are re-called by the members. They are subject to recall at any time, by a vote of a majority of the members. The plan of administration consists of three great divisions, viz.: 1. Division of Production. 2. Division of Distribution. 3. Division of Commonwealth. These again are sub-divided into departments, viz.: Collection, Extraction, Growing, Hand-craft, Transportation, Storage, Delivery, Finance, Administration, Education, Public Service, Amusements, etc. Again, these are sub-divided into bureaux and sections. The executive appoints the chiefs of divisions and departments, the workers in the departments having the power to remove their chiefs. The by-laws provide for the exercise of the Referendum, Imperative mandate, the Initiative, and Minority representation. Disputes are settled legally by arbitration as provided in the laws of California. The system of administration does not and cannot in anyway conflict with the laws of the land, but on the contrary, will strengthen and maintain all laws that are based on justice and the natural rights of man. Socially, the effect has been remarkable; a more peaceable, orderly, and intelligent camp of workingmen never existed. During three years of the hardest toil and the roughest pioneer work, the first overt act has as yet to be recorded. Among the families, the amenities of a true social condition are maintained. Each one feels the responsibility of upholding the social integrity of the Colony; and as a result, an inoffensive and charming rivalry exists to outdo the other in neighborly acts.

But it is among the children that the best effects of our modern social life are observable. The child is undoubtedly, to a greater extent than is generally admitted, the victim of its environments. If for no other reason than that children, who are to become the citizens of the next generation, should be taken out of the unhealthy slums of large cities and placed where they can have healthy moral and physical training, such Colonies as Kaweah should be encouraged and maintained. At Kaweah such a thing as corporal punishment is never resorted to, and reproof is seldom needed. If a wrong has been done, the child is shown his error, his intelligence and sense of justice is appealed to, and as a rule he frankly acknowledges his fault; he is not degraded by punishment, and is therefore on his honor bound not to repeat the offense. This system in the training of children in connection with the examples of their elders has had a remarkable effect on their deportment towards each other; the fretting, quarreling, and crying, so common in every-day life becoming un-

known. A more active, healthy, and happy set of children never existed ; their merry laughter and song, can be heard between school hours, as unrestrained as the warbling of the birds or the rippling of the rills that course the fern-covered ravines of their beautiful mountain home. As a feature of our social experiment, this is the most encouraging, the proper culture and training of the young being the foundation upon which our future success depends.

Up to the present time the pioneer Colonists have been summering and wintering in tents, without suffering any hardships, and very little inconvenience. This will seem incredible to those unfamiliar with the "glorious climate of California," but they have lived, loved, and are happy in their cosy white cotton dwellings, and some at least will feel a pang of regret at deserting them for the more pretentious dwellings of marble and redwood, which will take their place, as soon as these resources are opened by the completion of the road.

The commercial value of the improvements made by the Colonists, roughly estimated, is about \$200,000. The value of the natural undeveloped wealth embraced in the territory belonging to the Colony is very great ; inestimable, in fact, to such an enterprise. The timber interest alone would run into almost fabulous figures. The growth of the Colony has of course been pitifully retarded for want of means to push the work forward ; for, as no speculations were offered to Capitalists, and no wealthy philanthropist embraced the opportunity of delighting his soul in doing a truly meritorious work, — such opportunity being still open, — the Colony has had to depend entirely upon its own resources, viz. : pluck and perseverance. But its contributed Capital has been sufficient to build the road and keep out of debt. Nothing has been mortgaged, not a cent of interest paid, and no debts are owing to outsiders.

The three prime industries will be : lumbering and woodwork of all kinds ; marble-quarrying and marble work of every description ; fruit-growing, drying and packing. These will constitute the exports of the Colony or the articles it will sell or exchange for outside products. Other industries for the manufacture of articles for home consumption will also be inaugurated as soon as practicable. The water-power is ample at almost any point on the river and will prove invaluable for factory purposes in the future.

The exchanges of the Colony are effected by a system of time-checks, which are used as money in all transactions between individual members

and the Colony. The "minute" takes the place of the "cent" as the unit of value. These time-checks work admirably and are of great convenience. They constitute, in fact, a non-fluctuating currency, and are complete in every detail as a medium of exchange between members.

The climate of Kaweah is all that can be desired. Within a distance of twelve miles at altitudes ranging from 2,500 to 8,000 feet various grades of temperature can be found; in the lower altitudes, the grape, olive, orange, fig, prune, and peach attain perfection, while at the higher, the apple, pear, hazel-nut, and gooseberry find their natural home. At 2,500 feet the snow seldom falls; at 6,000 to 8,000 feet it is frequently from four to five feet deep.

The scenery in and around Kaweah is magnificent. In spring-time the hill-sides are brilliant with flowers in endless variety. The "Giant Forest" with its marvellous groups of mammoth trees, the Kaweah peaks, covered perpetually with snow, and Mount Whitney, the highest pinnacle in the United States, are objects of perpetual interest.

The main purpose of the Colony is to put in practical operation a system which can extend until it embraces, in time, the whole world. The plans of such a system have been tabulated and talked of for years, but no attempt has been made to operate on a scale as broad as that adopted at Kaweah. There are no social or religious idiosyncrasies to excite prejudice and no opportunities for speculation to awaken cupidity. The utmost liberty of thought and action is permitted, restriction being applied only when the rights and privileges of others are infringed or jeopardized. Under these conditions it is hoped that the most perfect manhood and womanhood will be attained, brute passions surrendering to moral restraint and men learning to "become a law unto themselves."

In no sense can this institution be regarded as an ordinary commercial enterprise organized for the benefit of a select few. Its constitution and plans permit of its extension indefinitely, so as ultimately to embrace all who desire to change from the competitive to the co-operative system. It is in fact a reform movement, moving on broad practical common-sense lines, taking truth for its guide, and having for its object the fraternization of the human race.

The Colony extends a cordial invitation to all to investigate its methods of social and industrial reform. Copies of its constitution and by-laws can be obtained free by mail, by addressing the "Secretary," Kaweah Colony, Visalia, California.

J. J. MARTIN.

THE FUTURE OF NATIONALISM.

There is at all times in the world a Power, a mysterious Presence, which no man sees or touches, but which the thinker may discern ; its influence is felt by every man and in its train men and institutions alike must follow or be stricken to the dust. A power above all human power,—it is the aggregate of these. It is made up of our life-tendencies bound together by evolutionary law ; and, while individuals appear to differ greatly, their aims are blended into one homogeneous whole which we call “the Spirit of the Times.” It is the invisible mold into which the centuries are cast. So mighty is the sway of this unseen agency that nothing passes current without its permission ; it is the touchstone of all success.

Thus, whenever a new movement or reform claims public attention, there is this test which we formulate for it ; we know that its staying power, its probable usefulness, will be in precise ratio with its nearness, its relation to the Spirit of the Times. That relation, its vitality or its remoteness, determines the life, or what we commonly term the practical success of the movement. A reform, not integrally connected with the dominant tendency of the force expressed in the era of its manifestation, can have no practical result in that era ; like the crop of weeds, a mere exuberant foliation of force, it withers in the fierce friction of Life before the time of Harvest.

It is evident that a movement may express the ruling Spirit of the Times, as engendered by man, and yet come too late, a last wave of a turning tide. Again, while based upon a true, because universal, principle, a reform may be too far in advance of the main impulse of Thought to have an immediate outcome. It then appears still-born, but in reality bears the winged seed of the future. In either of these cases, whether of waning or of gathering momentum, the movement is easily seen to be remote from the prevalent average of Thought, and is not mistaken for a normal manifestation of the Spirit of the Age. Mighty as this Goliath is, it has its David. It yields to a Power transcendent which is the cosmic field wherein all forces interchange. This multi-form power *per se* we call Energy. It is the first fact with which we have to deal in our conception of the universe. No matter what the plane of its manifestation, the law of its nature is always the same. The ever-shifting forces declare it as flames declare the hidden source of fire. This law is known to us as the correlation of force ; the basic principle of transformation of energy which holds

good in all regions so far observed ; in the ethical as well as in the mechanical, while analogy and reason affirm it of the spiritual. In the intellectual world the successive expressions of mental energy define various periods of Thought, and each becomes in turn the dominant Spirit of its era.

It seems but yesterday that a small seed was silently cast into our midst ; one modest seed of thousands sown that year, a living germ, called Looking Backward. With amazing speed it took root, sprouted into the lusty shoot of Nationalism, and — a free bloomer — has a blossom in almost every large city, with a tendril or two flung across the ocean. How timely must have been the hour of sowing ; how favorable the climate and the soil ; how natural that the thinker should proceed to calculate the influences of this radiant nativity ! But how does Nationalism stand with the Spirit of the Times ? To answer this question we must first ascertain the direction in which that Spirit moves.

Throughout the western world we find, in all departments, a new tendency towards co-operative union. In the finer arts, in Painting, in Sculpture, in Literature, in the Drama, this tendency for union in production is frequently manifest. An extreme form of it is seen in monopolies. A limited and arbitrary working of it is evident in trades-unions. The effort of science is towards evolution. The dream of religion is unity. Diplomacy reaches towards arbitration ; international law towards expansion ; commerce towards freer trade and a binding, universal language which 200,000 merchants in various countries have already adopted in three years after its invention. Everywhere there is a tendency to unify, to simplify, to minimize friction. In all industrial departments an effort to lop off those superfluous devices by which the stream of exchange is tapped and arrested in order that middlemen and industrial parasites may absorb undue profits. Through co-operation many branches of labor now begin to recognize their force. Such enterprises are successfully conducted in France, Italy, England, the United States, and the Sinaloa Colony, Mexico. This movement is the Spirit of our industrial era. It is the instinctive effort of Labor to obey the *lex parsimoniae* everywhere written in Nature, to follow a line of maximum results with a minimum expenditure of capital and force. "*Energy ; what it is, and how to save it !*" History will write this down as the motto and working problem of our time.

Now, although this tendency has by no means acquired full momentum, its steady influx, everywhere evident, proves that it lies along the next curve of progress. If we take the scientific point of view, we are con-

fronted with the great re-discovery before alluded to, viz., the Conservation of Force. Here again the subject of Energy, its behavior and correlations, holds the field. Passing to the devotional aspect of Life we find a widespread dissatisfaction with forms and creeds as such, and a pronounced attempt to investigate, on the one hand, the spirit of religions, as shown by the sending of an eminent Divine as an ambassador (and not as a missionary !) to confer with an oriental church ; and, on the other hand, to investigate the inner or psychic nature of man through psychic and mental phenomena, thus assuming Soul to be a higher form of Energy. Look where we will, this attempt to understand forces, to formulate the Energy within men and things, is gaining ground ; everywhere the leaven works.

To those who accept this view, the inherent vitality of the Nationalistic movement is clear. The Brotherhood of Humanity is its basic principle ; the Nationalization of Industry its material work. If this platform is impartially adhered to, Nationalism must succeed. The Brotherhood of Humanity is larger than Nationalism ; it spreads, as a base should spread, far beyond the limits of that word. It implies a common source ; soul-identity, or the expansion of One Spiritual Energy into millions of human beings, the omnipresence of one creative Power ; and it represents the subjective action of Energy. The Nationalization of Industry has reference to the economic distribution and free development of industrial forces ; it represents the objective action of Energy. In the union of these comprehensive phases we find, at the root of Nationalism, the presage of its great future based upon the primary attribute of Energy, just as the wrongs which Nationalism comes to right are based upon a misapprehension and misapplication of this primary attribute. To give it a name we may call it Expansion ; it is the mobile substratum in which all cosmic manifestations arise. The mode or method of this attribute is through correlation, or multiplication and distribution. While its quantity is constant, its qualifying nature is always in flux or change, both upon the subjective side of Being, and upon the objective side patterned after the prior manifestation. This is the natural order. The social and industrial methods, which have hitherto obtained, defy it. Nowhere is the departure from natural law more painfully evident than in the life of the laborer of today.

Taking the life of a single man, we may see behind or within him the soul or eternal spark of which he is the manifestation. Through him, the quantum of force which represents his life-sum may be seen working

through various correlates to an end,— call it experience, or progred evolution, whether of the single man or of humanity. The primal Energy is now converted into muscular forces, appears again as mental force in intellectual processes, as psychic energy in his devotional nature, and, like the returning arc uniting earth and heaven, stoops from the heights of personal aspiration to the daily level of human endeavor. For even he who has no hope in his toil beyond the bare support of life works better, when other lives depend upon his own. The noblest chord of Bellamy's symphony is struck in the following sentences: "By what title does the individual claim his particular share? "What is the basis of allotment?" "His title," replied Dr. Leete, "is his humanity. The basis of his claim is that he is a man."

These brief words contain the germinal statement of all that the present article seeks to prove. They proclaim the identity of Energy. "He is a man," subject to the laws governing human life, the laws of energetic expression in Life. Those laws demand the further expansion, the correlation and transmutation of the life forces. They demand—once energy has its spiritual expression in man—psychic, mental and physical action; the free play of force back and forth over this range; the interchange and action of every phase of power by which alone the expansion of the whole, through experience, is attained. But the present industrial system puts a stop to all this. It ignores the fact that when a man has put his full quantum of force into his work, he has given as much as any other man can or does give. If, in the nature of one, Energy chiefly takes the form of physical force, while another transmutes it into mental force, that does not affect the fact that in both cases, Energy has been expended to the full amount available to the worker. Each one of us is a centre of Energy, and upon the quality, rather than upon the gross quantity of force expended, does our usefulness to others, as well as our evolutionary progress depend. When any given centre is in full activity, it can do no more. But it could do more; it could expand to higher correlates of force, it could rise nearer to the great Energetic Source, if its activities were not restricted to the physical plane by present industrial and social conditions. In giving to capital the enormous surplus called "unearned increment," while the wages of human physical force are restricted to a minimum, we attempt to reverse the nature of things. For, note it well, by these restrictions we compel a large body of men and women to confine themselves chiefly to the evolution of physical force. The long hours of labor

leave them too weary for mental exercise of any kind. The higher emotions, affections and aspirations, cannot have free play in the uncultivated nature, in a physically exhausted body, in a brain closed to hope, a mind without a vista. The necessary reactions of nature take lower and grosser forms, and undue physical tension craves release in passional excess, or in the stupor of drink rather than in normal repose. When the individual is strong enough and pure enough to resist these material traps, to what a waste of force is he not subjected in resisting what should not be there, in seeing the falls and sufferings of others, in living his barren, hard life, restricted, at the very best, in every broadening direction! The wage-rate is prohibitory, not of life, for men must live, while Energy *wills* expansion and tenaciously grasps objective life, but of all that real interest in work which constitutes its chief value to the race. The man whose hope is in his work, who sees in it the means whereby he and his may expand their lives, that man looks upon his work as himself, he idealizes it, studies to improve it, to carry it up through higher forms and larger methods beneficial to the world, methods which liberate more energy. Anything less than this stultifies Industry and the worker, institutes a cut-throat competition and sets a barrier to human achievement. Sometimes the mettled activities overleap this, and then we have the monstrous spectacle of monopolies inciting inventors and buying inventions in order to keep up prices by locking useful improvements away from the people. This non-productive production is a prostitution of force, belongs to a series abhorred by Nature, and will end by cursing Invention with sterility. Nor is the working-class the only one injured. The energetic law applies to every plane. Excessive action of one part of an organism causes hypertrophy of that part and atrophy of other organs, resulting in the hideous ferment and outbreak of disease. This is as true applied to masses of men as to the individual. Over-indulgence of one part of the social organism conduces to looseness and weakness of fibre in all.

Most children know what occurs when steam is shut up within a boiler, but society attempts to repress force, careless of the mutterings of the imprisoned giant whose unnatural coercion may make devils of good men, while every now and then the shock of some sharp explosion gives louder warning than the voice of the scientist, or the conclusion of the philosopher, and permits us to hang, or to jail, a few of the victims of our ignorant methods. Brotherhood is none the less admirable for having a verifiable and scientific basis in the nature of Energy, or Unity in Diversity,

instead of a purely emotional cause. Freedom, not restriction, is the law of Life, freedom within the wide and ordered reaches of law. This rule we cannot reverse, but it is able to reverse, not our brief systems only, but the race itself, should that race be undermined by the repression of Energy. Elder civilizations have fallen before this law; it is free and we can be so, only as we copy it. All systems, whether of men or of worlds, are based upon the nature of Energy and must stand or fall by that. We may not revolutionize the material tendency that seeks to confine the activities of force. We may know that the chief obstacle to Nationalism will be found in the personal passions of the human heart which oppose the equal distributions of force and greatly crave personal supremacy. For such desire there is no cure but a firm belief in Newton's first law of Motion, or Force, viz., "Action and reaction are equal and opposite in direction," or, as the Bible puts it: "As ye sow, so shall ye reap." Still, if we seek to do our whole duty, and to elevate our conceptions of that duty by relating it to the just and eternal laws, then the Brotherhood of Humanity may take on visible shape and Law will order the sublime end.

J. CAMPBELL VER-PLANCK.

LET LIVING WORTH BE SUNG.

I.

'Tis well to say the kindest word
Of those who've gone from earth,
And eulogies are often heard
That emphasize their worth;
But better far, it seems to me,
We'll find it now and then,
To let our living heroes see
They're loved by fellow-men.

II.

Wait not until the heart is still
That has been proved most true,
But make it feel by deepest thrill
How dear it is to you.
To flattery base should none descend,
Nor need we yet be dumb,
But give good men before their end
A taste of joys to come.

III.

Then let us speak with hearty praise
Of noble work well done,
And crown the victor with the bays
He valiantly has won.
'Twill cheer him on to higher aim,
To find his merits known,
And help achieve still greater fame
Than he could gain alone.

IV.

And others on the sea of life —
May they be old or young —
Partakers in the eager strife,
Whose deeds are yet unsung,
Perceiving that men recognize
Rewards to merit due,
And deeming honest praise a prize
Will seek to win it, too.

FRANK J. BONNELLE

NOT GOLD ALONE.

A beggar at my door for alms besought,
 And, when I gave him gold, unsatisfied
 Still lingered pleading, while I, cold, stern-eyed,
 Gave him yet meat and drink, but in my thought
 Spurned him and called him vile and good-for-naught;
 And when he still besought, in wrath I cried:
 "What! would'st thou have my heart?" Then I espied
 A ray of kinship in his eyes, and caught
 His smile, as thus he answered: "Yea, thy heart
 Must with thy gold go forth, or naught of good
 Can come of all thy gifts. I am thy kin;
 Home have I not; a palace is thy part;
 Give me not gold, but right of brotherhood;
 Open thy soul—and let me enter in."

ANNIE LOUISE BRAKENRIDGE.

THE HUSBANDMAN.

I.

He is the aborigine
 Who wins the soil by sweat and toil
 From its old curse of weed and thorn
 To bring forth corn.

II.

Child of the earth, its king is he;
 He plants his need, and knows the seed
 Will bear to him through sun and rain
 A wealth of grain.

III.

Into the soil he sets a tree,
 A puny staff,—to make one laugh;
 And yet this scepter of his sway
 Shall fruit some day.

IV.

But though the earth bend to his rule
 And conquered, mute, give up her fruit—
 Of the rich treasure of her heart
 How small his part.

V.

King of the earth, yet vassal, fool!
 Aye, he doth give a toll to live;
 And though his toil prepare the feast
 His loaf is least.

VI.

A strong arm wields him like a tool;
 A tyrant's voice leaves him no choice—
 So he by whom the feast was spread,
 Buys back his bread!

VII.

Who shall subdue the ancient wrong,
 The wanton greed beyond man's need,
 Which grasps the toiler's bread for naught,
 Unasked, unbought?

VIII.

Where is the will, the courage strong,
 The nerve of steel, the holy zeal—
 Where is the consecrated Knight
 This wrong to right?

IX.

Have we not watched and waited long?
 Haste, sun-shod feet, across the wheat!
 Strong brether, from our fields thick-sown
 Bring us our own!

IDA WHIFFLE BENHAM.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

GROWTH.

The bragging of periodicals about their circulation is not to our taste but, when a fact that happens to concern us is of public import, no false pride should deter us from using it to point a moral. We, therefore, call heed to the increase in size and circulation of this magazine and let the inference be drawn.

LET WORKINGMEN TAKE HEED!

In the address to the people of Massachusetts, issued by the Boston Nationalist Club, mention is made of a toast to a member of the lobby who had "one hand on the pulse of Labor and the other in the purse of Capital!" That lobbyist was long a recognized leader among Boston workingmen's organizations. When the workingmen of this country refuse to put their trust in unscrupulous demagogues, ever ready to betray them for their own selfish advantage, they will find their power in the land wonderfully increased, and they will learn where to look for their real friends and leaders.

A BILLIONAIRE PHILANTHROPIST.

C. P. Huntington, the railway king, appears with advancing years to have developed a philanthropic spirit, which has become manifest in an ardent desire to suppress the slave-trade in Africa. This end, he is reported to believe, will be attained through the execution of his Congo Railway project. Having made a beginning, let us hope that he may keep on in the righteous path and turn his attention to the slavery existing at home—the industrial slavery for which billionaires like himself are responsible and upon which their fortunes are built. There is an ample field here for the beneficent use of some of his surplus millions. By the way, who was it who wrote, anent a contest at the polls in California affecting his railway interests, to the effect that it was cheaper to buy the legislature than to buy an election? It might interest him to know that there is a Huntington family that has taken a noble stand in Nationalism, and their namesake, the magnate, might well profit by their example.

LABOR DAY.

"Labor Day" of this year was well and widely celebrated. Its chief value, far outweighing the mere holiday consideration, is its demonstration of the organizing power of American workingmen. Military authorities who viewed the parade were enthusiastic over the appearance of the men; their earnest, dignified bearing and their excellent marching. These military authorities had a professional eye for their soldierly capabilities and indeed, the parade on Labor Day seems to foreshadow the coming industrial army, nobler in conception and purpose than any mili-

tary organization, when the duty of universal industrial service shall be recognized and the methods of discipline and organized effort now characteristic of the military power, shall be directed upon the National industries with unspeakably beneficent results for humanity. In such a demonstration as the workmen's parade we have the germ of the great holiday gathering so impressively described in *Looking Backward*, with the grand annual mustering-in of the young men and the releasing of those workers who have honorably completed their term of service.

THE LONDON TRIUMPH.

The most striking thing about the London strike, next to its speedy and splendid success, is the change in public sentiment which has taken place in the few years since the demonstrations of the hundred thousand unemployed in Trafalgar square. Then, the great public expressed little sympathy with those driven to desperation by want, and loud clamors even went up for the hanging of the leaders. One of those leaders was John Burns who, as the head of the recent great strike, was the hero of the day, his praises heard on every side from statesmen and potentates, as well as social reformers, while the public feeling was overwhelmingly with the strikers. This augurs well for the speediness, and also the peacefulness, with which momentous changes in the social structure of England will take place. Nationalism, impelled by the same influences which have given the movement its great start in America, is beginning to make itself felt as an organizing force for the guidance of those changes in the commercial despotism of England.

CHILDREN AND WOMEN.

The Massachusetts Census Report for 1885 contains some valuable industrial statistics concerning child labor; it informs us that on June 30, 1885, there were only 24 persons under 10 years old employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries; between 10 and 14 years there were 3,484; while those between 14 and 21 numbered 69,356, or 18.28 per cent of the whole number of employees. These statistics hardly give an accurate picture, however. If the very young children engaged in street occupations in the cities were included the first class would be enormously increased; if those employed in offices and mercantile establishments were counted the second class would be largely augmented; while, if allowance could be made for lying as to age in order to secure employment—under the law there would be a large transfer from the third to the second class. The compulsory school-age law is openly violated in hundreds of establishments in Boston alone.

The proportion of female labor also speaks of industrial degradation. In boots and shoes, for instance, the two sexes rank about even among the wage-earners; in cotton goods the females are nearly three-fourths of the whole; in woolen, nearly three-fifths, and in worsted goods nearly four-fifths. While an enlightened system of female industry would be

beneficent, at present the results are almost wholly bad. Not only does the labor of women and children make serious competition with that of men, rendering employment more difficult and lowering wages, but female labor is at present everywhere conducted under unsanitary conditions that deprive women of the stated intervals of rest which the sex needs and upon which not only their health, but that of their offspring, largely depends. With both child-bearers and children condemned to industrial slavery, the physique of the race cannot fail to be sadly impaired.

A SHOT THAT TOLD.

The address to the voters of Massachusetts, irrespective of party, which the Nationalist Club of Boston put forth last month has created even more stir than its most sanguine designers could have expected. Some of the great newspapers of the State, such as the Boston Herald and the Springfield Republican, while not yet ready to accept *in toto* the Nationalist remedy for our grave social disease, practically admit the terrible truth of the charges made. The Post and the Courier approve the address, while the Advertiser and its evening branch, the Record, have been foaming over with semi-official indignation and foolishly trying to weaken the force of the appeal by insinuations and assertions that it emanated from obscure and irresponsible members of the Club, and was not countenanced by some of the prominent men connected with this greatest of moral and economic movements. In this attempt the Advertiser overshot the mark and gave the Club a chance to come back with an endorsement signed by some of the men whom it had tried to make appear not in sympathy with the tenor and purpose of the arraignment. In all kindness we would advise the Advertiser that all such methods of disingenuous ingenuity belong to a moribund school of journalism and are bound to recoil on the heads of their adopters. As to the Advertiser's obscurity-argument, it deserves but passing notice. Truth is ungainsayable whether uttered from the gutter or the pulpit, the palace or the prison. The obscurity of its origin is no argument against it and cannot long delay its acceptance. But the fact is that several of the men who framed the address are not obscure men, but were well and widely known long before the editor of the Advertiser became Speaker of the House and thus, supersensitive about plain statements as to the deterioration of our General Court. The Address will be found on another page of this number. Read it carefully, and bear in mind that it makes no attack on particular persons: it is the system that is responsible for the wrong and we are fighting the system.

A FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY.

Harper's Weekly for July 27, speaking of the Nationalist Club, gave utterance to the common fallacy that the extension of the system of nationalization of public services would seem "to threaten individual initiative and energy." How much are those traits encouraged

by the present industrial system among the mass of the people, whom it degrades by keeping in ignorance and forbids a free choice of occupation by the law of necessity, more imperative and iron-bound in its operation than any legislative mandate? Have postal employees today any less "individuality" than telegraph operators or expressmen? "The defects of organized capital for accomplishing certain results are obvious enough, but they would not be remedied merely by transferring them to another organization called government. In both cases the organization is of men, and the same fallible men that we know," says Harper's Weekly. Yes, but in one case, the organization is of a few individuals, primarily for their own profit; in the other, it is the organization of the entire people, primarily for their own service. But it is in the present system of the civil service that that journal finds the chief objection to the reform. "There is no great railroad in the country that is now managed upon so degrading a system, so fatal at once to self-respect and a really efficient service, as the national post-office," it says. The evils of private railway management are so bad, that this may be open to question, particularly in the point of efficient service. The defects of the present postal system are glaring, however. But, notwithstanding, it still is strikingly efficient; far more so than the analogous private corporations, the telegraph and express companies. Is this not an evidence of what a vastly superior service might be rendered under reformed methods? To give the postal service control of the telegraph would do more to introduce civil-service reform than a decade of the most powerful arguments or appeals; it would make the reform imperative by more directly interesting the people in having a good service; the turning out of skilled employees to give place to political workers and incompetents would not be tolerated. But the success of our ideas depends upon an efficient civil service, and the advice of Harper's Weekly to establish it upon sensible principles and guard it against the dangerous abuses of which long experience has made us fully aware, is thoroughly sound.

AT THE OTHER END.

The Nationalist movement is just as strong in California as in Boston. Already on our exchange table were two magazines of the faith,—The Commonwealth and the Pacific Monthly—and now a weekly magazine comes from National City in that State bearing the gallant title, Looking Forward. All these are ably edited and evidently in the field to stay. This is as it should be: the field is large enough for all.

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

While Henry George says "Looking Backward is a castle in the air with clouds for its foundation," Nationalists think Henry Georgeism is an ostrich which running its head into the ground can see nothing in the wide world but Land.

State ownership of the land is a principle of the Nationalists, and they agree with Henry George that there should be free access to the basement of the social structure. But they insist that it is equally important that Jay Gould and the Vanderbilts should not monopolize the first floor, and the capitalist class enjoy all the light and air and comfort of the upper stories.

"The estate of Mr. William H. Vanderbilt alone was worth more than the 165,000 farms in the three States of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. Since 1860, the wealth of the United States has increased from fifteen to fifty billions. During the next thirty years, it will probably increase from fifty to one hundred billions. Whether the next fifty shall go to increase the power and luxury of those already rich, or to increase the comfort and independence and culture and manhood of the masses of our citizens is the political question of our times." (Christian Union.)

The increase in the value of ground rents will be but a small fraction of this. As in the case of a private residence all the luxury and comfort will appear above the basement. Henry George is looking after the cellar; Nationalists look above ground as well and maintain the right of the masses to an equal share in the comforts which they put into the upper stories.

"The world is filling with people, and it is filling with good things which the people like and want. Shall the people as a body own the good things in a lump, or shall the ownership and enjoyment of the goods be divided among human beings in proportion to the ability of each to get hold of them, by hard work, or skilful work, or monopoly, or treachery, or any good or bad superiority which helps to constitute him one of the 'fittest' and most likely to survive in such a contest? Can there be a more momentous question than this? Any system of private property which bestows its blessings in proportion to efficiency in work and management is unjust to the man, who, with an heroic disposition to do his best, is held down by circumstances over which he has no control, to a life of hard work and little pay." (Popular Science Monthly.)

The condition of the industrial world since the introduction of machinery and the massing of capital has bound nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand to this wheel from the Inferno.

"The growth of trusts is beginning to shut out the man with nothing but his hands from the possibility of production on his own account. Concentration is the rule everywhere. What chance has an individual workman to become his own employer when he must compete with a combination that controls a hundred millions and one hundred millions of capital? Society seems to be evolving into a condition in which there will be no room for individual initiative." (San Francisco Examiner.)

The farmer is no better off than the manufacturer. Even the engineer who is at the other end of the industrial teeter recognizes this. "Demand and supply are convenient

words to regulate prices, — according to economists, — but in practice the theory seems to clash with facts. Farmers cannot sell their fruit and it rots on the ground while hundreds of persons are longing to buy it. The middle-man is the culprit this time. The earth teems with its bounty, but it cannot be sold. Either the machinery of trade is too complex, or other causes we do not comprehend interfere with the just distribution of the fruit of the earth." (Engineer.)

The cause is not far to seek. "A hundred and sixty thousand miles of railroad, distributing the entire products of the country, are under the control, and literally the ownership of less than sixty families, and this fearful monopoly comes from and depends upon the franchise given by the government." (Don Piatt, Editor Belford's Magazine.)

Such is the status of the small manufacturer and the farmer. To the miner, Monopoly's ultimatum is the same: Submit or starve.

"Because the coal miners in Spring Valley, Ill., would not agree to a reduction of wages the mine owners suspended work in the mines and the miners found themselves without employment. This happened nearly two months ago, and within that short time, men, women, and children have become utterly destitute; many families absolutely without food. What of the mine proprietors? Are they starving because the mines shut down? Not much. Probabilities are that they and their families are enjoying themselves at some watering place, seaside resort, or perhaps 'doing Europe' not at all concerned about their starving slaves." (Independent Citizen.)

This is not wholly true. Some of these thoughtful millionaires plan cheap lodging houses, cheap amusements and excursions for their employees in bulk, at reduced rates so that they will live on less wages without rebelling.

"A Scotch paper says that Mrs. Elder, widow of the late ship builder on the Clyde, who herself possesses over a million of money wrung from the workers, has issued a cookery book advising workers to buy a penny bone and boil it in two gallons of water for six hours in order to make a soup dinner. This kind (?) lady must be a sister to Edward Atkinson, with his recommendations of water soup for American laborers. But the Scotch paper well asks how long the mutton and the beef will go to the idlers and the penny bone to the workers." (Kansas Commoner.)

Little competition and honorable, independent, and well remunerated labor was the first stage in our nation's industrial life. Then as the combatants became crowded, fiercer competition, and with it a short hey-day for labor. Then concentration and Titanic contests between great corporations, in which labor has been crushed between overwork, and no work, — the story of the last quarter of a century. Now, the combatants sign treaties of peace and clasp hands in trusts, syndicates, and monopolies, placing capital on top, labor and consumer beneath.

Washington Gladden, as reported, has drawn this picture: "Trusts are beneficial in suppressing cut-throat competition, but they are destructive to the principle of individualism. They can, too easily, abuse their power by suppressing weaker rivals by unscrupulous methods. They are sometimes the colossal pirates of the public highways. But they have come to stay. Existing forms of competition will not prevail against them. The rational thing to do is to recognize their existence and to regulate them by law. The State should control them and if this appears to be socialism we cannot help it. It is the logic of events."

Prominent dailies express editorially the same opinion. "All the signs of the time point to the nationalization of everything monopolistic in its nature, as the ultimatum towards which we are rapidly approaching." (Chicago Times.) "The necessary consequences of the success of trusts and syndicates is socialism in the true sense of the word; not anarchy or communism, but an enlightened and intelligent socialism, where the government concerns itself not alone with making general laws, but takes in hand the construction, maintenance, and control of great national and interstate enterprises, not for profit, but for the general good of the people." (San Francisco Chronicle.)

On the other hand, it would be comical, were it not pitiful, to read the pasteboard definitions of Nationalism which its few opponents set up to knock down again with their little guns. Here is a brilliant bit from an editorial in the *Christian Leader*: "Nationalism is a scheme to take, say, the tannery business, out of the hands of men who have been trained to carry it on, and put it into the hands of politicians—secretaries and treasurers and committees, walking upon plush and sitting upon soft cushions."

But more generally, the religious press sees that Nationalism is the application to industrial life of the social ethics of Christianity. Its adoption by individuals has been urged by the pulpit in vain because the layman's hard common sense has taught him that it is impracticable to apply the Quaker system of non-resistance to an industrial life based upon competition. The knights of the church were persistent fighters and brawlers until it became safe to be a peaceable man; so, to-day, the keenest and most savage in the industrial war are pillars in the churches. "Men, who on Sunday read the Golden Text, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' will on Monday, without remorse, cut each other's throats financially. Men are rated by the ability displayed in underbidding, under-selling, and out-maneuvring their neighboring firms and associates in common pursuits. The church must be not only individualistic as heretofore, but socialistic, and as an organization make herself felt in the current movements of reform and civilization." (Zion's Herald.)

Rev. William Barry writes in the *Nineteenth Century* under the heading, "Wanted—A Gospel for the Century": "I am convinced that society must undergo a transformation or perish. And it is on this account that every thoughtful observer must wish religion would take up the far-reaching problem of the distribution of wealth; the relation of physical science to the prosperity of the masses; the rights and wrongs of property; the claims of the individual to be trained for his place in life and recompensed by a secure old age for the toils of his years of strength; in short, the whole question of national civilization on its human and social side."

There are signs that in this country and in England not only the church but the leaders of thought are awakening to the gravity of the situation, and with great unanimity are steering between the Scylla and Charybdis of competition and monopoly to the harbor of industrial co-operation under national control in the interest of all the people.

But there is work to be done. An editorial in the *Boston Post* defines that work. "In one respect the Nationalists and the Christian Socialists, who are attempting practically the same work, are right. They are applying to the advance of their reform the system which long and painful work has shown to be the best; they are beginning at the top, and their propaganda is to be carried on, not among the humble and the suffering, where it would, at best, but foster a futile discontent, but among the favored classes, who by virtue of their advantages, should be the readiest to hear and the promptest to act. It is *noblesse oblige* now, as ever, and their battle cry has the ring of high-minded endeavor, the touch of self-abnegation which has never yet failed of a response."

REVIEWS.

[We gladly notice in brief all books sent us. Books bearing on economic or social questions we will review as extensively as our space permits.]

ENGLISH SOCIALISM IN A NOVEL.*

In "A More Excellent Way," Constance Howell presents a most interesting and instructive picture of the Socialistic agitation in England. The book is particularly valuable for American students of social questions on account of its graphic descriptions of methods pursued by the reformers there and of the manner in which their work is received by the middle class, so soaked in commercialism as to seem almost hopelessly Philistine. Otho Hathaway, the hero of the novel, is a type of the valiant souls who, though favored by fortune, find the ties of humanity stronger than those of class and step boldly forth, — as did Phillips, Sumner and others of their rank in our Abolition days — joining hands with their brothers, the thinking leaders of the proletariat, to do pioneer service in the great struggle for human freedom. Hathaway's growth in mind and soul is admirably set forth. We know him first as a child, — with a selfish, conservative father and a radical, noble spirited mother, and we thus learn the antecedents that form his character. Then he appears on the scene as a young man, with a splendid physique, good looks, and well endowed with the world's goods. Returning to London in 1886, after the death of his mother and a long absence on the Continent, he beholds from a club window the great demonstration of the unemployed, which his companions look upon as an amusing spectacle until their windows are smashed in on account of their jeers and mockery. "Cads! Brutes!" remarks his host at the club, but Hathaway, perceiving the cause back of the demonstration, says: "It is my own class who are the brutes." Otho Hathaway is thus drawn into the study of social conditions and becomes an ardent Socialist; he throws himself heart and soul into the work, to which he devotes his entire energies; he feels that his fortune does not rightfully belong to him and therefore he makes restitution to the workers by devoting it to their cause; he becomes a leader and goes out to speak on the commons, on the street-corners, and in the halls of the branches in the cause of human brotherhood; he endures social obloquy and even foregoes the bliss of union with his beloved through his greater and higher love for his fellow men. "It is not praise and thanks we Socialists must look for, but rather misapprehension and blame. If I were giving the workers my life in another way, if I were fighting by their side, shedding my blood, under the red flag, that would be a glorious death to die! And yet this must be better, because it is more useful. The time has not come yet to give my life for the people. I will give my life to the people."

There is one phase of the book which must be mentioned. It is outspokenly Atheistic, and the author arrives at Socialism through that means which, by her earnestness, she almost exalts into a faith. But it is to be regretted that it is made an element here, for it divides the interest, and the cause is so great that it must have support from all directions from which helping hands are extended, and conditions of fellowship should be narrowed down to no form of religious belief or lack of belief. The failure of the Christian church to do what it should for man in this world is what seems to have driven the author to her position on this question. The blame brought against Christianity, however, seems to proceed from what has degraded the Church; the reading of the Scriptures in a too literal light, and a failure to accept their inner and mystic meaning. The world called Christian is in reality still heathen. It has been said that Christianity has not yet been tried, and there are Christians who now propose to try it. Therefore let all lovers of humanity give them God speed! Meanwhile sincere Christians will benefit by reading this book, for they will find it written in a noble spirit, and its attacks on their faith will enable them to strengthen themselves and their faith by directing it to the service of Man, who, by perfecting his conditions in this world, will be made fit for the next.

* A More Excellent Way. By Constance Howell. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., '88.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

C. F. WILLARD, EDITOR.

[Nationalists having friends in towns and cities mentioned in this department are requested to urge them to correspond with the addresses given. Others resident in these places not yet affiliated with our movement, but desirous of joining, need not hesitate to write to these addresses. Thus, through this department, a vast organizing force will be set to work which we could not reach in any other way. Secretaries of clubs are requested to send in their news in time to reach this office by the 20th of the month. Ed.]

MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON. The monthly meeting of the Club was held Wednesday evening, September 11th, at 98 Boylston street. Although the night was stormy the hall was filled. Rev. W. D. P. Bliss delivered a lecture on "The Rise and Fall of English Wages," dating back from the 13th century and illustrated by stereopticon charts. The lecture was able and highly appreciated. An address to the citizens of Massachusetts calling attention to the corruption of the last Legislature was adopted unanimously. It was also decided to call the ladies together for active work. Measures were taken to increase the associate membership by so amending the Constitution that persons in all parts of the country favoring the nationalization of any industry not yet nationalized, may become associate members by the payment of a nominal fee. The address referred to above was sent all over the country by the Associated Press, and has caused a great deal of comment, friendly and unfriendly, by the newspapers of this State. Those which found fault were insignificant journals while the large dailies approved it.

LYNN. The regular meeting of the Club was held at Park Hall, Sept. 18th. The following officers were elected: President, J. A. O'Keefe; Vice-Presidents, Geo. H. Cary, Esther H. Hawks; Recording Secretary, Hannah M. Todd; Corresponding Secretary, J. N. Gibbeney; Treasurer, Wallace Osborn; Advisory Committee, J. N. Gibbeney, George H. Cary, Esther H. Hawks, N. P. Conway, William O. Wakefield. The following Committee were appointed by the President: Committee on Membership, Herman Lamp, Maria J. Osborne, J. E. Howard; Committee on Information, W. D. Huntington, G. W. Gilmore, Myra M. Todd, J. H. Dwyer, and S. W. Wallace. The address of the Boston Nationalist Club was presented and unanimously endorsed.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: PORTSMOUTH. Mr. Robert E. Rich the Secretary writes: "I have not reported lately because our Club adjourned until Mr. Albee, our President, returned from the mountains. Just as soon as he arrives we shall lay out our work for the winter, and have some lectures here. In the meantime we are not idle, a still hunt is always going on, and many people this summer have expressed sympathy with and hope in our great work."

NEW YORK: NEW YORK CITY. Club No. 3 (down town) was organized September 3d, with Mr. Henry G. Reed, 135 Waverly place, as Secretary. Owing to the great distances in this city and to other circumstances it has been found advisable to start this and other Clubs that are in course of organization before Club No. 1 has reached a large membership. Club No. 3 will be a nucleus for down town propaganda and concentration of work and starts under excellent auspices.

Washington Heights Club No. 4 is now in process of formation. Energetic men are connected with it who will no doubt soon report its organization.

The membership of Club No. 1 is increasing steadily, and the attendance at our public meetings is growing so large that we have outgrown our quarters and shall have to move to larger rooms. Clubs Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are in process of formation. The great interest manifested in the movement justifies the statement—Nationalism is the only live thing in this neighborhood; everything else is falling to pieces. Sufficient material for a solid Club in Brooklyn is now ready and early in October it will be launched. The organization in Richmond County (Staten Island) in this State, of Jersey City, Hoboken,

Orange, and Newark — all in New Jersey — is progressing, but slowly. In this work of organizing the region of which New York city is the natural centre, material assistance may be given by promptly putting Mr. Daniel DeLeon, 1487 Avenue A, in communication with anyone who should write from this region where no organization as yet exists.

ALBANY. The Nationalist Club held a preliminary meeting at Van Vechten Hall Sept. 11th, and elected temporary officers: Ernest Norris, Chairman; W. S. McClure, Secretary. The permanent organization will be perfected at the next meeting, on Thursday evening, the 19th inst. J. W. Kenyon, of Worcester, Mass., was present and made a short address. He will deliver a discourse on "Looking Backward" at the next meeting, discussing its prospective effect on American politics.

PENNSYLVANIA: PHILADELPHIA. Wednesday evening, Sept. 11th, the foundations of a Club were laid. Mr. Augustus J. Loos and Dr. J. J. Taylor were elected as temporary President and Secretary and after various subjects were discussed, a committee of four was appointed to induce as many as possible to attend the meeting, Wednesday evening, Sept. 25th, at 1520 Chestnut street, Baker Building, in order to launch out as a full fledged Nationalist Club with a membership in no wise behind in number with that of any other city.

CALIFORNIA: LOS ANGELES. This Club at its meeting, August 4, had an overflow meeting about fifty persons being unable to gain admission. Dr. Dean Clark, of Boston, addressed the audience, followed by Dr. A. B. Peebles and W. C. Owen. Secretary A. Vinette writes under date of August 5th: "Next Sunday we shall hear from Rev. D. V. Bowen and Judge Gottschalk. On Thursday, August 8th, we will organize Club No. 2 in the eastern part of the city. I have received notice of Clubs organized in San Francisco and San Jose." Mr. Vinette went on to say that he had sample copies of the magazine at the meeting and so notified the audience, and so great was the rush for them that he was unable to take subscriptions. The permanent officers of Nationalist Club No. 1 are: President, Dr. H. P. Peebles; First Vice-President, J. R. Hunter; Second Vice-President, F. M. Campbell; Secretary, A. Vinette; Assistant Secretary, Mrs. J. T. Coan; Treasurer, J. E. Neubauer; Assistant Treasurer, J. D. Blackman; Executive Committee, Mrs. F. L. Grosvenor, Mrs. Emma J. Jenkins, F. L. Grosvenor, and W. H. Starret. A German Club is soon to organize, making the third Club in this city. We have about 300 members enrolled in this city and estimate about 5,000 supporters on the outside. There are five Nationalist papers in California, viz., Pacific Union, Commonwealth, Cactus, Pacific Monthly, and Looking Forward.

SAN DIEGO. Fifty names were enrolled as members of the Club at the first meeting, August 22. Fifty more were added at the next meeting one week afterwards making in all one hundred. The officers of the first Nationalist Club of San Diego are: President, Rev. B. F. McDaniel; First Vice-President, Mrs. Clara Foltz; Second Vice-President, A. E. Horton; Treasurer, E. W. Morse; Secretary, Mrs. J. Y. Bessac; Assistant Secretary, Dr. F. G. Powers; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Mary A. White; Advisory Board, Henri Fairweather, President, George B. Wheeler, Dr. Powers, Mrs. Gertrude Brobeck, and Mrs. F. E. Johnson. The Club is making a great impression on the newspapers and current thought in that city. It comprises among its members two millionaires and the celebrated lady lawyer, Mrs. Clara Foltz.

OHIO: COLUMBUS. The officers of this Club are President, Geo. W. Allen; Vice-President, C. C. Pomeroy; Recording Secretary, E. T. Adams; Corresponding Secretary, E. J. Bracken; Treasurer, Mrs. Jennie Pomeroy; Financial Secretary, Oscar Freer.

CINCINNATI. Wednesday evening, September 11th, a party of about fifty ladies and gentlemen, among whom are some well-known Cincinnatians, met at the the Gibson House and organized a Nationalist Club. Dr. Buck was elected temporary chairman, and Mr. Edwards, Secretary. Benn Pitman, the well-known shorthand teacher, read a paper on the subject of Nationalism, which was enthusiastically received. A number of other speakers followed, and the meeting adjourned with over forty members enrolled. Saturday afternoon the Committee on Permanent Organization held an important meeting at the Gibson House. The Club met again at Douglass Castle Hall, northwest cor-

ner Sixth and Walnut streets, Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, in Room No. 2, second floor, when a permanent organization was effected.

IOWA: LEHIGH. A Club of fifteen members was organized August 3 and it is expected that it will have 100 members in a short time.

ILLINOIS: CHICAGO. During the summer movement as far as public agitation was concerned was somewhat quiet. A public meeting was held Sept. 16th in the club-room of the Grand Pacific Hotel which was well attended, especially by strangers. A paper was read by Mr. Robt. H. Howe, one of our most active members, on the "Civilization of Peru, illustrating the great practical benefit of co-operative action in industry and showing the reason Pizarro so easily conquered the country and extinguished that civilization was because it was not due to the lack of intelligence of the people, but to the lack of ability of their rulers, the Incas, and when they were conquered the people knew nothing but submission. The paper was well-received and was followed by an address from President Cox on the desirability of establishing a municipal gas plant. He exposed the methods and manipulation of the gas ring; demonstrated the cheapness and ease with which gas can be produced and the enormous profits accruing from its production under private management. Mr. Gesterfeld followed urging that if the city could grant the right of supplying the people with gas to a private company it certainly could reserve that right to itself. A number of applications for membership was the result and several editorials in the Chicago Herald have since appeared in favor of municipal control being extended to gas works. On the 5th of September about one hundred persons met by invitation at the house of Dr. H. Augusta Kimball, 2426 Indiana avenue, and listened to an address on Economics by that lady. Her thought being wholly along the new lines was most admirably expressed. President Cox defined Nationalism. Mrs. Annie R. Weeks read a Declaration of Principles which had been prepared by Dr. Kimball and Mrs. C. S. Brown, and Mr. Adelbert Hamilton followed reviewing and commenting upon them. On Sept. 12th many of the same persons met again at the same place and organized Nationalist Club No. 2, adopting the Declaration of Principles which had been read at the previous meeting and electing officers as follows: President, Corinne S. Brown; Vice-President, Mrs. Annie P. Weeks; Recording Secretary, Mr. C. D. Hill; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. H. Augusta Kimball. On Sept. 19th another meeting was held to adopt Constitution and further perfect the organization.

MINNESOTA: MINNEAPOLIS. Club No. 1 has the pleasure of reporting a large increase in membership and also the organization of Club No. 2 in our city. Club No. 2 is composed of the leading Jewish merchants, and was organized Sunday, Sept. 8th, with a membership of twenty-five and the Nationalists are invited to deliver a lecture on Nationalism in the Synagogue. A series of lectures will be given during the winter, one every week, in the different churches, beginning with a lecture Thursday, Sept. 19, in the Norwegian Unitarian Church, whose minister, the well-known Norwegian poet and philosopher, Rev. Kristopher Jansen, is a pronounced Nationalist. The circuit of churches already secured includes Congregational, Methodist, Universalist, Unitarian, and Jewish.

Clubs three and four will be organized within the month, one will be a young folks club, to which marriage disqualifies for membership, the other will be of the residents of Portland avenue and vicinity.

The press of the Northwest are more than tolerant and courteous—they are *awake*. The symposium on Nationalism published in the Evening Journal (the most influential evening paper in the Republican ranks in the Northwest) has awakened interest throughout the whole of this vast territory, and the correspondence is coming in fast on the question "How to organize?" A Club will be organized in St. Paul within a month. The pages devoted to "news of the movement" could be filled with interesting details of our work, but realizing that our efforts are but a portion of the great whole and that a bird's-eye view is all a magazine can give us. Word has just been received that the symposium has been copied entire in Kansas City for the "patent outsiders" published in country papers throughout the Southwest. That ensures another 100,000 readers.

THE CHANGES OF FIFTY YEARS.

ADDRESS AT AUGUST MEETING OF BOSTON NATIONALIST CLUB

BY JOHN RANSOM BRIDGE.

It is difficult to fully realize to what extent our ways of living and our social relationships have been altered by the mechanical changes of the past fifty years. Steam and electricity have practically annihilated space, placing the different sections of the country in close communion. Hand labor has been displaced by the use of machines to a most marvelous extent. With a higher degree of general intelligence among the masses there is also developing a more sensitive nervous organization, a finer physical instrument for the man, a capacity of greater enjoyment or of keener suffering. In all these particulars we are leading the other nations of the world and we should naturally expect that the brilliant burst of speed which we have made toward a higher state of civilized life, would be accompanied by a general breaking down of the barriers of oppression and injustice, which exist only where the many are the slaves of the few. Yet in the face of what should be, no sensible person can seriously consider the direction in which the business world is moving without coming to the conclusion that we are approaching a state which, for the masses, means a condition of industrial slavery. Indeed, in some sections, this is a truth in practice, if not in name. As Mr. Bellamy has stated in his address before the Free Religious Association: "It is not difficult to forecast the ultimate issue of the concentration of industry, if carried out on the lines at present indicated. Eventually, and at no remote period, society must be divided into a few hundred families of prodigious wealth on the one hand, a professional class dependent upon their favor but excluded from equality with them and reduced to the state of lackeys, and underneath, a vast population of working men and women, absolutely without hope of bettering a condition which would year by year sink more and more hopelessly into serfdom."

We who live in the manufacturing centres of New England know how true this is when considered from the standpoint of the overworked and under-fed mill hand. I wish that Michael Lynch's description of the life of a workingman, as he puts it in the NATIONALIST, could be read every Sunday morning from the pulpits of our churches to the kid-gloved audiences. I will read you the paragraph which epitomizes the life that thousands of honest men and women here in New England, with its millionaires and apparent prosperity, are leading: "To be born in a crowded and, perhaps, filthy tenement house; to run the gauntlet of a thousand ills during infancy; to suffer the pains and, even to a child, the ignominy of poverty; to be scantily educated and turned out into the world as a bread-winner for the family, at an age when the children of those more fortunate are but just leaving the nursery; to be compelled to labor at something not of your own choosing and, perhaps, distasteful to you; to marry and to beget children; to still live in poorly furnished and ill ventilated apartments; to struggle on through long years, sometimes years of panic when work is scarcely to be had at any price; to walk the streets idly in the winter time when your expenses are greatest; and then just when you become perfected in your trade, when your skill should make you a more valuable man than ever, to feel your sight grow dim, your limbs stiffen, your strength fail and be cast aside as useless; to see the long years of your labor wasted for

a mere subsistence; to drag on by hook or by crook a few years more of hopeless struggle and discontent, or perhaps, if you are so fortunate, to live on the charity of poverty-stricken, or grudging children; finally, to have the grave close over you, leaving others as luckless to strive on as hopelessly. This is the life of the workingman, not the unskilled laborer alone, but of the mechanic. And for the woman, his sister, there is no change save that her education is poorer, her toil begins earlier and is more confined, and her wages are pitifully smaller." But this is a phase of our New England life with which you are all familiar, and many of you have no doubt at times cast a longing eye toward the great West, with its natural resources unequaled in any country under the sun, and wished that you could leave behind forever the crowded tenement house and the close air of the factory and get out on the broad acres of a western farm, with its freer life and chance for a nobler development of body and soul. Fifty years ago the realization of this dream was possible for almost any man. But all may not know that within the past few years there has been a change in large sections of the West and Northwest in the condition of the small farmer that is producing a retrograde movement from a state of comparative independence to one that soon will be a parallel with the days of feudal Europe. Owing principally to the competition of the great "bonanza" farms, statistics for the past fifteen to twenty years show that the ownership of the land is rapidly passing into the hands of the capitalists, and the former land owners are becoming tenants. These great bonanza farms are simply immense food factories covering from a thousand to five hundred thousand acres. There are thousands of them and their area would make several states the size of Massachusetts. This land is largely owned by foreign capitalists, non-residents. The productions of these farms are being brought into competition with the products of the small farms and thus ensues the same result that followed when the cotton and woolen factories began, fifty years ago, to compete with the spinning wheels and looms of our mothers and grandmothers. Between the blanket of Eastern mortgages and the competition of the non-resident "bonanza" monopolist, the small western farmers are being crowded out of their possessions and are becoming tenants instead of owners. Mr. William Goodwin Moody, author of *Land and Labor*, has compiled from the census of 1880 a table showing the number of tenant farmers in the United States and he has found the number to be over a million, or some two hundred thousand more than the entire holdings of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland combined. And of these facts Mr. Moody says:—

"Here is exhibited a development in the monopoly of the lands of our country, and an extension of the tenant system, that dwarfs to littleness anything that the world has before witnessed. In England the proudest of her aristocrats find their limits of possession a long way within two hundred thousand acres, and there are but three who hold more than one hundred thousand acres each. But in our country the possessions of individual capitalists pass far beyond the hundreds of thousands into the millions of acres, and the corporations into the tens of millions. The tenant system of Great Britain has been the growth of ages—of more than a thousand years—fashioned and welded by the bloody swords and lawless brutalities of generations of robber barons and rulers who governed only to plunder; whose unwritten law was, 'Let him get who hath the power, and let him keep who can.' But with us the tenant system is the growth of only about a quarter of a century, under the operations of written law, and already it has reached a magnitude that belittles the work of the feudal barons."

Of the "bonanza" farms Mr. Moody has much to say. His statistics in regard to ownership, wages, number and condition of employees, were, in a large number of cases collected on the ground. I will cite an extract or two of what he says concerning the Grandin farm of 40,000 acres, near Fargo, Dakota:—

"The facts which I have gathered show that upon the Grandin farm, for example, during the four weeks of seed time, from April 1st to April 30th, there were 150 men employed; during the six weeks of harvest, from August 1st to September 15, there were 250 men, at wages that would hardly support the workers during the time they worked; while for the five months from November 1st to March 31st, there would be only ten men, as estimated for the coming winter; but in fact only five men were employed during that period of the past season, with neither woman nor child at any time. On the whole 5,300 cultivated acres of the Grandin farm there was not one family finding there a permanent home, where there should have been at least one to every fifty acres of land in crop. And so of 65,000 other acres belonging to the same parties, when it shall come into cultivation. A fixed population that would be continually adding to the wealth of the country and making demands for the school and the church, instead of a non-resident ownership that is heaping up colossal fortunes by skinning the land, impoverishing the people, and leaving the country without homes. Yet these huge tracts of land are being developed, cultivated, and made to yield as was no farm in the days of our fathers. Now, machinery and a few score or a few hundred hirelings and animals, to run and attend the machines, do the work under the eye of the overseers. The hirelings—the human animals—are worked for a few weeks or a few months in the year, paid barely enough to live on for the time being, and then are turned out and driven from the place, to tramp or live as best they can, no matter what may be the want and misery of their lives, whilst the brute animals and machines are well housed and cared for. The owner of the farm has a property interest in the brute, but no interest whatever in the human animal other than that of getting the greatest possible amount of work for the least amount of compensation. The most valuable improvements are for the protection of the brutes and the machinery, while the human tillers of the soil have neither right nor interest in anything they see or touch or produce. In this way the finest sections of our country, in tracts running up to eight hundred or more square miles—areas that would give fifty acres of plowland to more than a thousand families, and to our fathers would have furnished homes, ample employment, and comfort to more than ten thousand people—are now without even one home and furnish but transient and uncertain employment to a few hundreds."

In the face of these facts it is not surprising that some of the representatives of the labor organizations should look upon their struggle against this increasing power as a hopeless one and should be led to the declaration "that these questions (between labor and capital) can be finally decided and forever by no other means than the sword." And many a shrewd millionaire has also read the handwriting on the wall and knows that the day of conflict may be forced while the world is yet asleep to the real condition of things. It is for this reason that the Pinkerton's private army already numbers thousands of men. It is for this reason that the coal barons are organizing a veritable army of their own. It is for this reason that the merchants of Chicago have contributed several hundred thousand dollars to the United States government for the purchase of a large tract of land near that city on which to establish a military post. It is for this

reason that the representatives of the plutocrats could, on short notice, muster a greater number of fighting men in Chicago, New York, or Pittsburgh than could the commanding officers of the United States army. The corporations and syndicates are beginning to surround their possessions with a cordon of private soldiers because they work with one hand upon the pulse of their employees and they understand the meaning of the quickening rush of blood. It is a pity that they also do not understand that every attempt of the few to rob the many of the just fruits of their labor has ever been followed by social cataclysms. America will be no exception to the rule if her people allow those who have the wealth and the power to selfishly use these gifts, making them a curse to humanity, instead of a blessing. And it is against this system that the Nationalists are raising their protest. And in raising this protest they have taken a stand which marks the dawning of a new era in our political life. The old parties have been founded on, have preached, and have practiced the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils,"—a doctrine of tyranny for the masses, to the full extent of the centralization of power in the hands of the victors. But the Nationalists have recognized the fact that the creator resigned the earth and the fullness thereof for all, not for the few and in their declaration that "the principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature," have they found the true and only key to the labor question and a permanent state of civilization. This declaration, that all men are created equal, is not the words of a sentimentalist, but the statement of an absolute law higher than any human enactment—a law which insists that one man's rights shall end where another's begin; and we are still face to face with that stern, unrelenting Nemesis which demands that we work out, in our lives, the problem of the Brotherhood of Man.

And now allow me to say, before I close, that if there are present members of the Single Tax League or of any socialist organization, that I have spoken to them as much as to the members of the Nationalist Club. Their goal is the same as that outlined by Edward Bellamy. If they express it in different words, it is of no consequence. The doctrines of socialism and of Henry George alike are efforts in opposition to human slavery. The different schools may teach different methods of breaking the shackles, but they are really two sections of an army of which the Nationalist movement is the third, each section organized to fight the injustice and inhumanity of our present system. I feel sure that in the near future there will be a union of the three divisions for common action. At present, each section is doing, in its own way, a good work. Little of a practical nature is possible, no radical reform measures may be expected, until we can wake up a majority of the people to a realizing sense of the glorious possibilities that now lie within their grasp. For the present we must talk, teach and spread the truth until even the poor wretch who sells his vote at the polls understands that he is selling for a song what, if cast in the interests of the cause we represent, will return to him a priceless treasure. He will also have helped to make possible that dream "of an enlightened and care free race of men and their ingeniously simple institutions, of the glorious new Boston with its domes and pinnacles, its gardens and fountains, and its universal reign of comfort,"—a type of the city of the future. In helping to make this dream a fair reality there is not one here, to-night, unable to take a part. For those who believe in the cause but would leave the work to others, there are the burning words of Julian West: "While yet I gazed with unspeakable thankfulness upon the greatness of the world's salvation, and my privilege in beholding it, there suddenly pierced me like a knife a pang of shame, remorse, and wondering self-reproach, that bowed my head upon my breast and made me wish the grave had hid me with my fellows from the sun. For I had been a man of that former time. What had I done to help on the deliverance whereat I now presumed to rejoice? I who had lived in those cruel, insensate days, what had I done to bring them to an end? I had been every whit as indifferent to the wretchedness of my brothers, as cynically incredulous of better things, as besotted a worshipper of Chaos and Old Night, as any of my fellows. So far as my personal influence went, it had been exerted rather to hinder than to help forward the enfranchisement of the race which was even then preparing. What right had I to hail a salvation which reproached me, to rejoice in a day whose dawning I had mocked?"

ADDRESS.

TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS. — ISSUED BY THE NATIONALIST CLUB.

You are confronted with a question of the gravest import. The quality and character of your Legislature has steadily declined from year to year during the last decade, until now the General Court of 1889 is openly charged with being the most incompetent and corrupt body that ever sat in the State House.

The public press freely makes this charge and it is endorsed by public opinion. The Legislature of this year has degraded itself by the rejection of measures intended to suppress corruption, to secure the purity of the ballot and to promote the general welfare. It has passed measures burdening the community with perpetual charges for the profit of rich and powerful corporations. In all questions requiring a choice, it has almost invariably favored the demands of private and moneyed interests at the expense of the Public.

It has been the servant of a strong and unscrupulous lobby. It is charged with having betrayed the people, whose rights it is sworn to protect, by selling its enactments. Good laws that it passed either affected no powerful interests, or were so backed by public opinion that it was forced to pass them. Bad measures failed of enactment, not because they were bad, but because of conflict among private interests.

Such is the record of your General Court.

This corruption is caused by vast moneyed interests wielding the power of their wealth to their selfish advantage, and by private corporations, created to render public service, but seeking to control the law-making power and tax the Public for their own profit. To attain these ends they scruple at nothing.

Taking these facts, Citizens of Massachusetts, can you longer delude yourselves that yours is still the Government of the Sovereign People which your Fathers founded in the firm belief that it would last as long as your granite hills?

You are apparently allowed to nominate your representatives and to vote for them at the polls; but when those representatives assemble in the State House, if they can be corrupted by the lobby and their votes purchased, is it you, then, who rule, or are you ruled by the great corporations?

A quarter of a century ago corporations were small and exercised little influence upon legislation. Today single corporations have a larger capitalization than the aggregate then, and their total valuation in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has risen to the stupendous sum of over six hundred million dollars. Then, a lobby was hardly known; now each great corporation has its lobbyist as openly in its employ as its president or treasurer.

Men, whom the people have elevated to the highest position in its legislature, decline re-election that they may join "the third house" and sell to great gas, telephone, land, and railroad corporations the influence they have obtained over members of the legislature from their official position. The lobby of 1889 had among its members two ex-presidents of the Senate, ex-speakers of the House, ex-governors, and ex-congressmen. Besides these powerful tools the corporations had in their employ a large number of recognized professional lobbyists, men who gild their arguments.

So barefaced has this moulding of legislation in the interests of corporations become that at the close of the last legislature some score of lobbyists, this recognized third house, chosen by the corporations, dined in great state at a prominent hotel and drank to this toast: "To the member who has one hand upon the pulse of Labor and the other in the purse of Capital."

When your legislators are mere puppets in the hands of the money kings, what have you left of a Government of the People, by the People and for the People? Do you consent to this? Shall your State become a permanent plutocracy?

The corruptionists spread their nets far and wide. They begin their campaign early. They besiege the State House, the caucuses, the polling places; they even pursue the voters to their homes. Already they are laying their plans to have their willing instruments elected by you to do their bidding.

The Ballot-Reform law takes effect at the next election. It confers great power upon the caucus. Therefore attend the primaries. See that only the best men are selected. Exact solemn promises to correct present abuses. Question the Candidates closely and publicly. Get their pledges to insist on the most rigid scrutiny, regulation, and control of corporations. Demand that they extend the powers of municipal administration over matters of public service, such as gas and electric lighting, water supply and street railroads; or any other public service now rendered by private corporations.

Who can exaggerate the danger to our free institutions from a plutocratic class ruling the land by the power of the most enormous fortunes that the world has ever seen? This is the most vital question of the day, dwarfing all others into insignificance. What danger is greater than that which now faces us — a Government of Money, by Money and for Money?

BOSTON, September 11, 1889.

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GEORGE W. THATCHER, New York, \$40.

" " " " " Valuable collection of books, magazines, and pamphlets.

LEVI W. SCOTT, Boston, \$25.

D. B. MCLACHLAN, London, England, £5.

WM. FULLER, Lynn, magazines, books, and pamphlets.

AUGUSTUS JACOBSON, Chicago, books.

“THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE PROMOTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF HUMANITY.”—*Constitution of the Nationalist Club, Boston, Mass.*



THE

NATIONALIST

NOVEMBER, 1889.

The Decline of The Farmer	<i>Hon. Thaddeus B. Wakeman</i> NEW YORK CITY.
Bellamy's Industrial System	<i>Rev. Alexander Kent</i> WASHINGTON, D. C.
The Invincible Movement	<i>J. M. L. Babcock</i> WILMOT, N. H.
The Erie Canal	<i>Rev. Edward Everett Hale</i> BOSTON, MASS.
Nationalism True Conservatism	<i>George D. Ayres</i> MALDEN, MASS.
Palaces and Hovels	<i>Henry M. Williams</i> ST. LOUIS, MO.
A Feminine Iconoclast	<i>Mrs. Mary H. Ford</i> KANSAS CITY, MO.
By the Coal Fire (Poem)	<i>Mrs. Millie Andrews Bell</i> CLEVELAND, OHIO.
Ferdinand Lasselle	<i>Roman I. Zuboff</i> SCHAVLIE, RUSSIA.
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NOVEMBER.

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“THE DECLINE OF THE FARMER.”

Bedford's Magazine for April had a remarkable article under the above title, which has justly attracted unusual attention. The writer first called heed to the fact that, although the Agriculturists, the world over, have excelled in numbers and physical strength, they have generally held a subordinate position, often that of serfs and slaves. But the American Farmer has been regarded as an exception. In the earlier days of the Republic the Farmer was the substantial and well-to-do man of the community; the source of political, financial, and social influence. His sons were found in the colleges and legislatures as representatives of the dominant interest of the Commonwealth.

But all this, he proceeds to show, is changed. The farmer has not held his place in the estimation of the community, nor still worse, in his own. His social, financial, and political power is gone, or so lessened as to be in sorrowful contrast with his former estate. His children leave the homestead and crowd the factory towns and cities. The American, like the Agriculturist of old, has become or is fast becoming a dependent, if not a serf. Then the writer gives the proximate reason very satisfactorily thus:—

“In all this there is nothing mysterious. It is purely a matter of dollars and cents. Money tells the whole story. The farmer deteriorates, because relatively he is growing poor. The evidence is visible to every beholder, because no one so clearly exposes his condition as the farmer. If he is prosperous he builds new houses and barns, and dresses up his place. If not, he simply repairs old buildings, or neglects his premises altogether. Any one going through the country will now see very few signs of improvement among agriculturists, except in the newer sections where new buildings mean fresh mortgages. But it is a matter of statistics. In 1860 the farmers had one-half of the wealth of the country.

They constituted one-half of the population. Between 1860 and 1880, as the records show, they added \$4,122,588,481 to their possessions. But during the same period the other half of the population added \$73,359,791,851, or five to one to theirs. As the farming population largely increased during that time, it would not be difficult to show that the average of loss and gain in respect to property was against it. But how has it been since 1880? How many farmers since then have become millionaires in the prosecution of their business? When has wheat been so low? The flush times among agriculturists, during and after the war, were before 1880. But here again statistics come to the front. If there are any States where farmers ought to flourish, when population, soil, climate, and location—the chief elements of agricultural resources—are considered, they are Illinois and Michigan. They have marked advantages. Both, fortunately, keep records of farm mortgages. In both they appear to have been growing almost unprecedentedly. In the former, nearly 8,000,000 acres of farming-land are now encumbered, being pledged for the enormous aggregate of \$124,000,000. But have values kept pace with debt? Alas, no! The general testimony is that in Illinois, farms have materially depreciated in the market, one excellent authority putting the decline in the past eight years at twenty-five per cent. And when we come to Michigan, although not so wealthy as Illinois, we find the debt on its farms still greater, rolling up to \$130,000,000; and we are told that, taking the State as a whole, one-half of all its farms are mortgaged, and in the new portions, fully three-fourths.

“Such figures are terribly significant. What a sickening story they tell of ill-paid labor, of pinching economy, of actual want! And yet there are sections of the country, with which I am familiar, worse off by far than Illinois and Michigan—not one, but many,—and some of them where not only does the mortgage rest upon the farm, but the crop is usually pledged long in advance of the harvest.

“Of the blight that has fallen upon the agricultural interests of the country there could be no stronger proof than the extent of the business lately done in farm mortgages. It is a terrible traffic. The mortgages that are sold are really written in blood. They represent the sweat and tears of a prolonged but utterly hopeless struggle. The high rates of interest that are pledged—which alone furnish the inducements for the purchase of these instruments—in most cases make their payment impossible, and point at last to the inevitable foreclosure. What that means needs no

explanation. All the world pities the poor Irishman who, because he can't pay the "rint" is evicted from his holding; but wherein is his case harder than that of the American agriculturist who, because he can't meet the interest, is dispossessed of his home with the loss of all his investments?

"We now have companies in this business with millions of capital, which proves the extent and success with which it is carried on. The tempting advertisements are everywhere. They fill whole columns—not only in our financial, but our religious journals. It is no longer possible for the pious capitalist, after his Sunday repast, to take up his favorite church paper for spiritual nourishment, without meeting these mind-diverting offers of the flesh and blood of our impoverished and unhappy husbandmen. The growth of this business is one of the most inauspicious signs of the times. It shows how extensively our farming population is sinking into debt, and losing control of the soil upon which it labors. Is it any wonder, when he is thus heavily handicapped, that the farmer falls behind in the race? It would be strange, indeed, when he marks the better condition of those in some of our other callings, and realizes, in their bearing towards himself, the pride and pomp and luxuriousness of their daily lives, if the poor husbandman did not lose heart and manhood; and his sons and his daughters long for nothing so much as release from the farm." All of which is made clearer by the following table of profits viz. :—

On investment in farm lands	2 per cent.
" " " railroads, steamboats, and shipping	4 " "
" " " railroad mortgages	6 " "
" " " city tenements and business houses	5 " "
" " " farm mortgages	7 " "
" " " active mining, including coal	6 " "
" " " telegraphs, telephones, etc., (actual cost)	10 " "
" " " electric and gas lighting	8 " "
" " " banking	12 " "
" " " merchandise	10 " "
" " " manufacturing, not having tariff protection	11 " "
" " " manufacturing, having tariff and trust-protection	40 " "

But what is the cause of this poverty? Many will be surprised and amused at the Author's solution. To him the cause is *Tariff*, which to him is always "a tax," on the Farmer especially: and the only remedy he proposes is,—*Free Trade*! To the majority of the farmers, who alway rally for "protection," this conclusion is utterly lame and impotent. They regard the tariff on the contrary as the only alleviation of their sad

fate, a tax not on them but for them, because it preserves *their* market, which is the home market; makes the prices of things they have to buy in the *long run* cheaper than those imported; and protects by a duty every article they produce from potatoes to eggs, where there is the slightest foreign competition. Each of these points the Author of this remarkable article disputes; but the protection Farmers will on these points, not only in Illinois and Michigan but the country over, out-vote and out-argue him, whenever and wherever he meets them. What they will say, all can find summed up in Prof. Van Buren Denslow's *Economics*.

The true answer we find in the report of the State Assessors of New York State just made. (See *New York Times* of June 10, page 4.) About the main facts they agree in note-worthy words; but they add a very different and the true cause, thus:—

"We find a general depreciation in the value of farm lands," said Assessor Wood. "We have visited fourteen counties,—Monroe, Erie, Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Chenango, Broome, Delaware, Sullivan, Franklin, Clinton, Essex, Washington, Warren, and Albany Counties. In all we find the same condition of affairs. City property is increasing in value, while farming property is growing less and less valuable. *I cannot see any way for it to improve, and in a few years you will see more tenement farmers than anything else.* I don't see how these insurance companies that have advanced money will ever get out whole. No one wants to buy farm lands here. They can't get their money out of them. Most of the farms were bought about war times, when big prices were paid. In Washington County I had an illustration of the receding value of farming land. A man took a mortgage for \$10,000 on a farm just after the war. He has held it ever since, and today will take \$8,000 for the entire farm, after foreclosing the mortgage.

"The reasons for this state of affairs are many. *In the first place, the farmer here can't compete with the farmer in the West.* There is very little grain raised within our borders now; potatoes don't bring any price; butter is selling in the dairy districts for 14 cents a pound, and other products are equally low. This is good for the consumer, but bad for the producer. A few years ago Western butter was not wanted; today it has the cream of the trade in New York City. *In a few years you will see the present owners of farms in many instances tenants on them.*"

But why is Western and Southern competition reducing the respected and independent Farmer to tenancy, that is, finally, to serfage? The reason is given by "The Country Gentleman," quoted by the *Belford Magazinst*; the capital which "is good for the consumer," and which "makes" its crops by the *wholesale* use of land, machinery and labor retires all homestead and family farmers from further service of humanity, and compels them to shift to other employments, or die. Their attempt to save themselves by trucking, etc., near cities and towns, is often heroic, but capital soon hunts them out of that, too. The tragedy of their eviction is often too deep for anything but tears, but capital only counts dol-

lars not tears. As the Assessors above quoted say, their fall is inevitable. Can any patriot contemplate this result without seeing and feeling that the Republic, except in name, goes with its Farmers? Is there not more sense in Goldsmith's lines than in all the "Political Economics," if instead of "a breath," we read *Money?*

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
Money can make them, as it oft has made;
But a bold peasantry, their Country's pride,
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied."

The idea that they can be supplied by a little more "free trade," or that capital will not capture that sort of trade, as easily as any other, is too absurd to consider further. Nor is it probable that decapitalization can be enforced by either sentiment or patriotism. What then can be done? What will retain for civilization the benefits of capital in the highest degree without its dangers, and thus satisfy sentiment, prosperity, and patriotism? Is it not clearly the public administration of transportation and, step by step, of all our industries? To this end, can there be an appeal to the head and heart of every American citizen more forcible than that which the fate of our Farmers presents?

THADDEUS B. WAKEMAN.

ALL IN A HALF-CENTURY.

The unification of Italy.

The annexation of Texas.

The French revolution of 1848.

The laying of the ocean cables.

The discovery of the telephone.

The emancipation of Russian serfs.

The discovery of the electric telegraph.

The establishment of ocean steam navigation.

The great Franco-German War and the unification of Germany.

The great Civil War and abolition of slavery in the United States.

The rise and fall of Napoleon III. and establishment of the French republic.

The discovery of the sources of the Nile and Niger and the exploration of interior Africa.

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

MR. BELLAMY'S INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

The pivotal point, and in my judgment the strong point, in *Looking Backward*, considered as a social theory, is the proposed application to industry of the military system of service. Christianity, beyond all question, contemplates, on the part of each, a life spent in the service of all. Theoretically the church has always recognized this, but practically it has limited this service to the various forms of missionary and benevolent activity carried on outside of business relations. The calling of the minister is perhaps the only one that has been rigidly held by the church at large to the Christian thought of service. Men are usually regarded as free to pursue all purely business callings simply for personal ends. The common aim and the aim which the church member, as well as others, deems legitimate is "the getting of one's living."

I do not say the *earning* of it, mark you, for the common aim has never reached this level. The aim has been, and still is, to *get* the living, and most often to get the best possible living for the smallest possible outlay of actual service. To realize large returns from small investments, to get much pay for little work, is not this a general ambition? Of course, men who employ labor seek to make the workers not only earn their wages, but as much more as possible—the excess of these earnings over wages and other expenses constituting the profits of the employers. Nor is any limit set to the profits which the employer may legitimately make. Under the competitive system he is at liberty to make all that he can. If he has the luck to get hold of, or the tact to build up a better business than his neighbor, this is his good fortune. All admire, or envy him, and keep their eyes open for a similar opportunity. Nor is the workman moved by any higher aim. He invests his capital, which is his labor, to the best advantage also. He, too, is after a living, and is disposed to get it as cheaply as he can. In the competition for the paying investments, and soft places, the shrewder and keener a man is, the more he knows, and the more skilled he is in using his knowledge to his own advantage, the better are his chances. So the weaker and duller, the more modest and sensitive, the more scrupulous and conscientious, fare hardly. Thus under our present system individuals and classes are pitted against each other, and success, or what we term such, for the few means failure for the many.

Now, in recognizing this system of industry as legitimate, the church has put it out of the power of the individual Christian to act according to the

principles of his Master in business relations : that is, it has put it out of his power to make it the business of his life to serve his fellows. Business under the competitive system is not Christian, and cannot be made so. To make it so we must have a system in which the individual will consciously do his whole life work in the service of his brother — the service of humanity.

The defect of all Equalization theories in the past has been their failure to present any practicable working plan under which the cunning and ambitious could be prevented from using power for personal ends, and the lazy and thriftless prevented from shirking the law of reciprocal service. For this reason, prior to reading *Looking Backward*, socialism was to me always "a castle in the air." I never could get it down to earth. It had too much of the balloon about it to be practicable for common use. It might do well enough, I thought, for a little company here and there, to make experimental trips in, if they were all well-behaved and orderly people, but it could only bring disaster to any mixed community that might have the temerity to trust their fortunes to its keeping. But Mr. Bellamy's proposal to apply to our entire industrial interests the principle of military service, opened to me a new and blessed vision of glorious possibilities.

If men so readily rally at their country's call, giving without stint fortune and life to beat back the invading human foe, who will dare to say they will not rally with equal readiness, at the same bugle call, to free their country from the more relentless and cruel foes, Hunger, Cold and Nakedness? I believe they will and the great work of our Nationalist Clubs, I take it, is to familiarize them with this thought. We must keep it before them, and let them brood over it. Let them turn it over and over in their minds and look at it from every possible point of view. It will stand the test and grow on them. And Mr. Bellamy's little book, must, it seems to me, be the chief missionary document in this pioneer work. Nothing else has yet appeared that so wins upon men of every class. Even where it fails to convince, it leaves upon the reader a favorable impression. But really it is marvelously full, in itself, of the law and gospel of the order that is to be, for there is hardly a phase of the problem that is left untouched and the treatment is exceedingly attractive and skilful. Every day or two brings to me some fresh evidence of its conquering and convincing power. Business men, lawyers, merchants, ministers, are daily being captivated by it. It is the most effective gun yet fired in this holy war. Let us keep it to the front and in action.

ALEXANDER KENT.

THE INVINCIBLE MOVEMENT.

That there is in our economic system some defect or evil which, if not amended or removed, will be a continual menace to the peace of society, few intelligent observers will deny, and thinkers of the radical type do not hesitate to say that the system itself is wrong in its basis and methods; that it is too manifestly reproducing the malignant agencies which have blighted with decay the most opulent societies, and plunged commercial states in ruin. It is urged that our only hope is to be found in discarding the pernicious customs and maxims of the old world, and in endeavoring to reconstruct society on an equitable basis. History speaks to us in vain if it does not impel us to eliminate from our civilization every destructive element, and discover and apply the principles which will secure more equal opportunities in life to all classes of human beings.

That our social burdens have been extensively and painfully felt is evident from the almost innumerable plans or objects which have been proposed for relief. These, however, may be generally described as palliatives or poultices which promise alleviation without reaching the germs of the disease. The best of this class, perhaps, is "Profit-Sharing," which attracts the approval of many generous minds, but which must be dismissed from this inquiry, because it gets rid of no original cause of distress, and because, under a just system, there would be no profits to share.

The measures which promise social redemption by a thorough change of social conditions may be said to be the following:—

1. Nationalism or some form of socialism; that is, the control of the production and distribution of wealth by the people themselves, with the immense intellectual and moral benefits which this would involve.
2. The Abolition of Rent, or the Nationalization of Land; towards the realization of which the Single-Tax on land is proposed as the first step.
3. The Abolition of Usury.

These three measures, because they look in the same direction, must be parts of one general movement. The extinction of usury (using the term in its original meaning, before the word "interest" was applied to it for the benefit of the money-lender) involves the extinction of rent, because one is the offspring of the other, and cannot exist without it. When usury is abolished, all will be accomplished at which the Single-Tax aims; because, without it, there can be no landlordism. So far, on the other hand,

as the Single-Tax is effective in dispensing with the landlord, it will dispense with the money-lender. It is true that both these objects might be accomplished without effecting all at which Nationalism aims.

But it does not matter which of these banners a man may claim as peculiarly his own ; the hosts beneath them are all marching in the same direction and for the purposes of this statement it is useless to inquire which corps of this army of social redemption will make the most rapid march or the deadliest assault on the common foe. It is enough to say that they are three divisions of a force armed in a common cause, and should not waste their resources and delay victory by firing into each other's regiments. The difference between them is not one of principle but of method ; and it is not wise to sunder a beneficent movement on a question of method alone.

Yet if, as here assumed, these measures belong to the same general movement, it matters little how much incidental discussion there may be over minor points. Happily, we have for our instruction the progress of a movement which outward attack could not suppress nor internal discussion destroy ; and which is not so remote that the facts of its history cannot be attested by living witnesses. We can ask for no better illustration of the power of a reform which floats on the rising tide of the spirit of the age than that presented by the Anti-Slavery movement.

This movement was early disturbed by a question of method. Garrison and Phillips—two of the brightest names in American history—believed, at first, in nothing but moral agitation. Then came others with the conviction that the question must be taken into politics. This line of action was abhorrent to those who held that the Constitution was a "Covenant with death and an agreement with hell." It seemed at one moment as if the anti-slavery force were to be divided into two hostile sections ; but we now see that there was no cause for fear. No dissension of this nature—it is not too much to say that no dissension of any nature—could long postpone the triumph of a cause in which the best impulses of our common nature were enlisted in a conflict with a great wrong. Both methods were justified by the event. Without the preliminary moral agitation the political organization would have been impossible ; without the political method the moral agitation could not have been made effective. And the splendid genius and far-seeing sagacity of Phillips never shone with more luminous glory than when he waved over

his head the flag of his country, at the very moment he foresaw that it must become the symbol of the freedom of the slave.

The movement for Social Regeneration appears today with the signs of irrepressible vigor. The stirring investigation of the social problem is something more than idle speculation. The force behind it may not yet be fully revealed ; but to those who have studied the first faint indications which, in human annals, have preceded any great and beneficent upheaval, the hour is radiant with magnificent anticipations. He who is accustomed to generalize does not say that Danton was the French Revolution, that Washington effected the independence of his country, or, to take the strongest instance, that Garrison and Phillips abolished chattel slavery. It is true that if these men, or such as they, had not appeared at critical moments, these great revolutions might have been delayed ; but they succeeded because they were the instruments of a force not to be resisted. Before them, other men toiled and struggled — men whose names were never repeated beyond the narrow limits in which their voices were heard — who went to the stake, or the gibbet, or to nameless graves, without one glimpse of the day that should witness the triumph of the truth for which they shed their blood. But when the men, whose names history has embalmed in everlasting remembrance, appeared on the scene, the time was ripe, and the movements had become irresistible which they simply guided to a speedier success. A little earlier they might have been mere chips on the stream.

The cheering signs that awaited their coming illumine the great cause of economic revolution today, — a revolution which, pacific in its methods, ought to be peaceful in its consummation. The agitation of labor questions has been going on in this country for more than half a century, but they have come to the front only since the overthrow of slavery. Yet the movement has all the time been slowly and imperceptibly gathering strength, and cannot now be suppressed. Those who have seen the labor disturbances of the last few years — the strikes and boycotts that have interrupted business, subjected all classes to countless annoyances, brought no substantial and permanent relief to workers for wages, and had no useful result except to disclose the fact that great wrongs infect the social system — make a grievous mistake if they imagine that all this has been caused by labor demagogues, seeking personal gain. Demagogues there no doubt have been, who could nurse their own interests while masses of workingmen were striking blindly, perhaps madly, for relief — and though

organized labor has never done more than to attack symptoms instead of causes — *yet even a demagogue is powerless, if there be no grievance to redress.*

But the plague-spot has been revealed, and the hour has come. The leaders appear, carrying the credentials which have entitled others before them to fadeless renown. The labors and sacrifices of John Swinton have not been in vain. Marx and Lasalle have roused the slumbering masses of Germany, and startled England into some show of moral life. What Proudhon has done for France will yet appear. Bellamy has touched the heart and quickened the thought of the intellect and scholarship of our land, — usually the most conservative element of society.

All honor to these men ! But let us not overlook the fact that it is the force of a great movement behind them that gives them power ; of the vitality of which we have some intimation in the Nationalist Clubs and kindred associations springing up as if by magic all over the land. If you doubt that there be such a movement, ask whence came the inspiration of Bellamy's great work. Since it was not, as he confesses, from his original conceptions, could it be from any source except one as subtle and powerful as a new moral force in the general world ?

There was a time when the Slave-Power was so firmly entrenched in State and Church, and all the influential agencies of society were so arrayed in its defence, that it seemed as though it might defy assault for all time. But, impregnable as it deemed itself, the fortress fell.

A power as firmly entrenched now threatens the peace of society, and tramples on the rights of humanity. It would perpetuate the conditions which practically make the many the slaves of the few. But it is doomed to overthrow. It must fall, because its representatives are a small minority. It must fall, because the best instincts and sentiments of men decree its extinction. It must fall, because it is opposed by a movement, invincible in its purpose, to open wide the gates to a fairer hermitage for humanity. This movement proposes to make no change in the structure of human nature. The slave needs no change of nature to fit him for freedom ; he only asks that his shackles be broken. To be made happy, men do not need to be changed into new forms of being. They need only to be made free ; they only need an equal share of the bounties of Nature ; they only need equal opportunities in life ; they only need that unjust burdens be taken from brain and hand ; in a word, they only need *their own.*

J. M. L. BABCOCK.

THE ERIE CANAL.

The daily work of the Erie Canal illustrates very well what a common-sense arrangement brings about in the use of the public works of a state or nation. The Erie Canal, from Lake Erie to the Hudson, is now as free to all navigators as the Hudson itself. Even the duties of the Lock-Masters are paid for by the State of New York; and the amateur in his canoe, or the barge-master with his hundreds of tons of freight, pass from lake to river, and from river to lake, without any payment of fees.

Precisely as the city of Boston has, in two hundred and fifty years past built and maintained Washington Street; and now finds it to the general advantage to let every man go through Washington Street without paying toll, whether he be native or foreigner: so the State of New York finds it to its advantage to let the Erie Canal be free. A Boston Mayor, of foreign birth, once thought it would be well to have the crossing sweepers paid by "tips," as in London; but nobody else thought so, and the scheme was dropped as soon as proposed. Observe, that this is the precise parallel to the system, by which voyagers through the Erie Canal would now pay lock-fees for the wages of the lock-tenders; and observe also that Washington Street, between 1630 and this time, has cost the people of Boston far more than ever the Erie Canal cost the people of New York.

Now, whenever some paid attorney appears, to prove to the people of Boston that it is for their advantage, first, to give an electric light company the use of their streets, and second, after this magnificent gift, to contract with that company on the same terms as a private individual who has given the company nothing, we hope he may be directed also to explain to us about the Erie Canal. We hope he will be told to prove, that it would be better for the people of New York and the people of the country, if that canal were in the hands of a private corporation, squeezing out of travellers the money for a semi-annual dividend.

EDWARD E. HALE.

NATIONALISM — TRUE CONSERVATISM.

The principles which Nationalists advocate are naturally startling to men who forget their environment is continually changed by agencies they cannot altogether control.

So-called conservative people think Nationalists dreamers, and perhaps dangerous. They tell us that human selfishness and human ambition are facts; they say that no society is possible which does not permit individual competition and reward individual success; having said this, they think Nationalism annihilated.

On the contrary the Nationalists are the true conservatives. They recognize that Society in its present form is top-heavy, that it must overturn, is even now overturning, in spite of our efforts to keep it wrong side up. They are trying to adapt society to the coming and inevitable order; they are Servants of the Divine Law; they come not to destroy but to fulfill.

Even some friends of Nationalism assume that it is in opposition to two things: —

(1.) What educated men of the English-speaking races have assumed as facts, the principles of Political Economy as laid down by the English School, and

(2.) The principles of government on which this Nation was founded. This view the enemies of Nationalism will be anxious to encourage.

On the contrary not only is Nationalism in harmony with these principles, but it is their necessary and logical result. Nationalists *insist* that they do not advocate the *immediate* Nationalization of *all* Industry. To be sure, they foresee that Ideal becoming the Actual sometime in the Future, when all the conditions are ripe; and they *believe* that those conditions are ripening very fast, and with rapidly increasing swiftness. But until the conditions are ripe, they would not, *even if they could*, embody that Ideal.

This distinction between the Ideal and the Actual, between what Nationalists foresee will take place, and what they urge should be done now, we must always bear in mind, if we are to understand the scope and force of Nationalism.

Now, what do the older political economists say we must accept: —

(.) Human selfishness, and wherever possible, constant competition in . . . rife for wealth.

(2.) The constant tendency on the part of the population to increase beyond the supply of commodities, and therefore,

(3.) The constant necessity for increasing the amount of Labor and Capital to be employed in production.

(4.) The so-called "Law of Diminishing Returns from Land," and therefore,

(5.) The fact that although an increased application of Labor and Capital to production increases the Return, nevertheless the ratio of the Return-increase, in the absence of Discovery, Invention and Improvement of methods, is less than the ratio of increase of Labor and Capital applied to production.

(6.) The consequent tendency of the Return to a minimum below which it cannot fall, and enable the entire population to live.

(7.) The consequent tendency towards the so-called "Stationary State," in which the population, Capital and Profits, cannot, or do not, increase.

(8.) The fact that the arrival at the Stationary State is continually postponed by the increase of Human Intelligence, resulting in Discovery, Invention and Improved Methods of Production and Distribution.

Admitting all these to be facts — we can deduce only four *final* results. These are: —

(1.) The Stationary State in which the standard of living is kept above the bare subsistence point by great self-control in the exercise of the strongest of human passions, in other words, by the so-called "Preventive Check."

(2.) The Stationary State at the bare subsistence point induced by self-control.

(3.) The Stationary State induced by the destruction of the overplus of the population by starvation or homicide.

(4.) A State of Society wherein Discovery, Invention, and Improvements are always sufficient to permit any increase in Production commensurate with the increase of the Population.

To put the matter more simply the final outcome must be one of three alternatives: —

(1.) Destruction of the overplus of the Population, an alternative which all must reject.

(2.) The effective exercise of the Preventive Check on the increase of the Population, or

(3.) The continual increase in Discovery, Invention, and Improved methods.

I am far from denying that the people on this earth may some day all acquire that desirable amount of self-control, which will enable the Preventive Check to stop the increase of the Population. But that man is a dreamer, who thinks that the moral nature of his fellow beings will, for a long time to come, grow faster than their intellectual nature. And in the meantime the increase of Discovery, Invention and Improvements will be the most potent factor in keeping mankind away from the Starvation point.

The political economists also tell us that commodities, and the methods of distributing them, are divided into two classes, — monopolies and those which are not monopolies. In all Production and Distribution which is not a monopoly, Competition exists. In all Production and Distribution which is a monopoly, on the other hand, Competition does not exist.

Among monopolies we find some where, from the nature of things, Competition not only does not, but cannot exist. Such are called Natural Monopolies. Good illustrations of Natural Monopolies are gas plants for municipal lighting, the Post-office Service and the Telegraph System. But Natural Monopolies seem to increase in numbers and the Reduction of Profits as a result of competition seems to be instrumental in causing such increase. When profits become so reduced that the concerns engaged in any one industry cannot live and thrive, then the smaller concerns disappear and larger ones are formed.

This combination or absorption into which men and corporations are apparently forced, is rendered possible by three things : —

- (1.) The increase of Human Intelligence.
- (2.) The increased capacity for managing large bodies and
- (3.) An improvement in methods whereby commodities are produced and distributed on a larger scale than before. This combination saves expense, and for a time the fall of profits is arrested.

In the case of some commodities, at least, the fall of profits is arrested but for a short time. The effect of competition is felt as before. Combination and Absorption increase more and more. Finally the production and distribution of that particular commodity is handled and *can only be handled* by one large corporation or Trust. We see this tendency towards Natural Monopoly everywhere, and in all things, — in dry goods stores, as well as in gas plants and telegraph systems.

Now if we admit that the action of Human Selfishness will not entirely

cease before the Millenium, and that Competition will continue until there is nothing left in which competition can take place ; if we grant, as we must, that for a long time yet Intelligence must lead in its race with Virtue ; then, unless we can point out some limit to the increase of Human Intelligence and Human Ability not far off, must we not conclude that the production and distribution of every commodity will finally become a Natural Monopoly? Furthermore! Unless our eyes are blinded to the mad strife of Modern Competition, and the constantly accelerating swiftness in Modern Combination and Absorption, is it not evident also that Competition in all things "Industrial" must soon exhaust itself?

The difference between the hard-headed, practical, conservative Nationalists on the one hand, and the short-sighted dreamers, on the other, is this: The dreamers still fondly hug the delusive hope that somehow they can escape from the hand of Fate. But the Nationalists hail the inevitable with joy, as another great step towards

"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far off Divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

It is not necessary to detail the successive steps by which Competition, after forcing the creation of a natural monopoly in the production and distribution of each several commodity, must afterwards produce further combinations, which can only end in one great monopoly which includes all things industrial. This is plain to all who study closely the history of modern business.

The great objection, however, urged against Nationalism is moral, not economic. Its opponents say that the Nationalization of Industry will impair Individual Freedom, the great principle on which our government was founded. They forget, however, that this is a limited principle — the freedom of one individual being limited by the co-extensive freedom of another. The colonies of North America were forced to combine into a confederation in order to wrest their freedom from Great Britain, the citizens in that confederacy were obliged to unite themselves and their States into one Nation, in order to preserve that freedom ; the Federal Government and the majority of its citizens found it necessary to coerce some of the Sister States in order to keep alive and protect the very principle of Individual Freedom : so the time has come when our municipal, State, and National Government must gradually assume the control and management of Natural Monopolies, not merely for the sake of economy,

but in order to keep corrupt influences from our legislative bodies, and preserve and protect our individual rights from the grasp of plutocracy. *Such action on the part of our governments will increase our Individual Freedom.*

We cannot then avoid the conclusion that if Society continues as at present conditioned it must reach a state, where every industry will be managed and controlled as a Natural Monopoly. This as a present tendency is admitted by many who do not yet fully embrace it.

Nationalists say that as fast as any one Industry becomes a Natural Monopoly it enlarges Individual Freedom to take that Monopoly from the control of those who are managing it and their fellow men for their own profit, and place it in the hands of the Servants of the People. This is necessary for the Salvation of the Republic.

Further, it may become wise for the government, by legislation, to anticipate the inevitable. The conditions for the assumption of government ownership of some industries may ripen before they become Natural Monopolies. But it is not the object of this paper to discuss that question. The time and nature of each particular piece of legislation must be a matter for careful consideration. I am content if I have made it plain that Nationalism is founded on the good, well-tried, theory of legislation, by moulding the Present and the Future out of the remains of the past.

Let me make one more suggestion which can be discussed more fully in a later paper. Most opponents of Nationalism recognize the necessity of some kind of government supervision of large monopolies. Here in Massachusetts, especially, we have the Railroad Commission and the Gas Commission.

Let us assume a State of Society in which each Industry, having become a Natural Monopoly, is supervised by a government Commission. What is that, but one form of the Industrial Army, the members of which are paid, not all of them by fixed salaries, but some of them, like the Register of Deeds, by the fees which are received for services?

First the Industrial Army under the Fee System, then fixed salaries with all the fees paid into the Treasury, and finally the Industrial Army in its best organized form.

The Social Evolution is Inevitable.

GEORGE D. AYERS.

PALACES AND HOVELS.

One of the most abnormal and monstrous signs of the times is the fact that the toiler and producer in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred lives his life through in a dwelling which, if not actually squalid and unfit for habitation, has few or none of the improvements and conveniences which science and architecture have placed at the command of the race. Take the ordinary citizen's dwelling in our cities; the rooms are small and inconvenient, so that the family is unwarrantably crowded; the walls and doors are flimsy and do not keep out excessive heat or cold. He is compelled to burn fuel wastefully, without making a comfortable temperature through the house in winter, while in summer his wife is parboiled in her attempts to compete with the sun's heat by cooking in a kitchen often not much larger than a dry goods box. His drainage is bad; his lighting nap-hazard and poor; the roof probably leaks; there is no janitor to look after ashes and refuse; he is exposed to the sounds and sights of noisy or suffering neighbors whether he will or no; in case of fire it is ten to one that the partition wall will not keep off the flames from his house while the next burns.

In contrast with all this, the men who merely handle money,—the banker, the broker, the railroad stockholder, the real estate and insurance agent, the merchant, the stock jobber, etc., are domiciled in palatial offices. Electric lights greet them at the doorway. They are carried to upper rooms on elevators which noiselessly fly from floor to floor. They step into carpeted sanctums, lit by glowing electric lamps, heated by steam, with thick walls which keep out cold and damp; with plate glass windows, brass fittings, high ceilings, good ventilation, easy chairs, costly desks, fancy wall decoration, etc. There they spend their time, often smoking and gossiping with other money handlers to relieve the tedium.

Strange and portentous fact that thousands of employees work from ten to fifteen hours daily in handsome, well-equipped buildings, steam-heated, well-lit, and in every respect desirable as habitations, and then go home (?) to miserable shanty-like dwellings to pass the night! Their wives and children occasionally get a glimpse at the handsome office buildings, but it apparently never strikes them that there is anything incongruous in the fact that a man should work all day in a building of which a Venetian Doge might be proud, and then go home to dwell in a shanty.

Some of our modern office buildings are marvels of structure and com-

pleteness. Massive walls support iron girders and fire-proof floors; elevators and stone or iron stairways finish off the skeleton, and the interior fittings are admirable in every particular. Is it "Capital" then, which is to be thanked for all this? So far as capital represents accumulated labor, the answer is yes. But is it the accumulated labor of the persons who have had these stately buildings erected and who now reside in them? In most, if not in every case, certainly not. Take banks, for example: the men who enjoy the luxurious habitations which "money" now boasts have done nothing but accept money, turn it over, hand it out to someone else, record the transaction in books, and tax the stream passing through their hands as much as circumstances allow in every case. Is that labor? Who is benefitted by it to the extent of having his stock increased? Only the banker ultimately. But accepting the fact that his calling is necessary under present conditions; allowing that all these money handlers, middlemen, brokers, jobbers, clerks, *et id genus omne*, are necessary to carry on the world's work, is it just, or advisable, or what one might expect in a well adjusted society, that *they* should be so much better housed and cared for than the actual producers, — the farmers, smiths, wheelwrights, printers, masons, carpenters, etc.? What justice is there in the fact that the builder of a house, the man who wearily lays brick upon brick day by day, who cuts and saws, nails, paints, glazes, and finishes a palace, should go home at the end of it all to swelter in a hovel?

Suppose a dozen or a score of carpenters combine with the same number of bricklayers, painters, glaziers and plumbers, and the combination take into their plan a dozen or a score of farmers. What is to prevent them from putting all their powers together and building a good, substantial and luxurious home for each, the farmers meanwhile feeding the combination, and receiving their well-built homes in their turn?

Hence it is evident that it is not Capital alone which is responsible for the present state of things, but merely disorganization, which always was the cause of all the trouble the world ever saw. Let us then combine, organize, more and still more. We can never have enough of it. Let us combine to build social palaces for all, to feed all, to clothe all, to educate all, to amuse all, to enlighten and inspire all. What plan or scheme of salvation has so much in store? Nay, what else is there that can be the material and moral saviour of the race? Disorganization is misery and death. Organization is comfort and life.

HENRY M. WILLIAMS.

A FEMININE ICONOCLAST.

As I was sitting in the street-car the other day, the conductor rang the bell, and two ladies sat down beside me who were sufficiently beyond the ordinary in appearance to attract attention, and as the car was not full and they were animated, I became an involuntary listener. The younger one, of robust and beautifully developed figure, appeared rather fatigued, and, her companion alluding to the fact, she responded with considerable vivacity: "Yes, I should think I might look tired, considering the number of shocks I've received, and the extent to which my opinions have been altered since I left home this morning!"

"Why, what is the matter?" replied her friend, looking decidedly amused, "I should think you were sufficiently accustomed to have your opinions assailed and could resist all attacks!"

"Assailed!" responded the other, "certainly, but assailed and shaken are two very different things. I went down town this morning an enthusiastic Nationalist, and now I don't know what I am!"

"Dear me! that is rather serious," answered the first speaker, for evidently Nationalism had been a strong enthusiasm with her young friend, "but what is the matter with Mr. Bellamy now?"

"Oh! Mr. Bellamy is not exactly accountable for my idiosyncracies, of course," said the young lady with an amused little laugh, "but I'll tell you how it is. You know," she began playing with the tassel of her rather elegant umbrella, "I have been connected with a newspaper for the last two years, and my salary has been a very acceptable addition to the family income since father's death. My brothers have not been especially successful bread-winners," (there was a little sadness in her voice as she said this) "and my youngest brother would not be able to complete his college course without my assistance. Well, this morning at breakfast the young man commenced in that sophomoric tone which I never can endure, 'Frances, I have finished Looking Backward,' (his profound studies kept him from reading it before, you know,) 'and I must say I have been much struck with it, especially with its treatment of the woman question. You see it fixes that up very nicely. It's all right for you women to settle your own affairs, but it might be a trifle irritating, I'll confess, to have you interfering with ours. And then, of course, in Mr. Bellamy's adjustment of the case, the question of capacity is not touched upon. There's no doubt that women can arrange their own matters properly without the in-

tervention of men,' — he had risen now, and stood before the fire-place curling the ends of his moustache — 'and it's perfectly proper that they should do so.' 'How kind you are, Arthur,' (I replied), 'you don't happen to remember the name of that young woman, do you, who took a prize in the Harvard Annex some time ago? The prize was for the best essay descriptive of Rome in the time of the Cæsars, I believe.' No, Arthur didn't remember, — he has a very convenient forgetfulness about such things. 'Well,' I went on, 'the prize was open to the whole college for competition. The successful young lady from the Annex signed her name to the winning essay just with initials — E. T. Dawson, or something like that, — and they thought the winner was a man, but when the judges found that they had unintentionally bestowed the prize upon a woman, they refused to give her the full amount of the prize money, which was one hundred dollars, but offered her half, which she very properly declined. I think in that case women would, as you say, have settled their own affairs properly, and they would have given E. T. Dawson all of the prize money.' Arthur stopped curling his moustache at that, and I went out in a great hurry, fearful I might be ungenerously tempted to remind him to how great an extent I am managing his affairs just at present. Soon after, as I was walking down town I met Mr. Eaton; you know what a delicate little creature he is; well, he walked beside me while he was waiting for his car and talked Nationalism, he can't talk anything else nowadays, and presently he said: 'Oh! we are going to provide for you ladies, Miss Frances, and we will be very careful of you, too; we shan't let you do anything beyond your strength, or exhaust yourselves with grinding arduous labors,' and he skipped beside me with his cane making circles in the air, for all the world like a benignant mosquito. 'Mr. Eaton,' I said, 'are you going to take a car? Yes? well, your office is not so far down town as mine, but I walk every morning because I enjoy it, and I should think any woman who dressed sensibly and was not an invalid would do the same. I rather enjoy labor,' I added, — for I certainly do, — 'and if I had to choose between being a blacksmith and doing nothing, I certainly should be a blacksmith!' He grew so pale over that remark, I was glad his car came along, and I left him and walked on. When I reached the office, there lay *The Dawn* for this month. I opened it with a great deal of pleasure, for I had liked the preceding numbers exceedingly, and turning to the editorial page, the first thing I saw was an allusion to Nationalism and the woman question. Speaking of the same pet adjustment of wom-

an's judicial functions which Arthur had alluded to, the editor says: 'This would be justice to all, without doing violence to the true distinctions between man and woman which some fear would be violated in the ordinary development of woman's suffrage.' Now that might have looked very innocent had I not already been exasperated by Arthur's much more frank statement of the same thing, but that had opened my eyes and I began to feel as if cords were tied around my ankles. Are the Nationalists afraid, I thought, that women will expect too much, that they already begin to draw the line so carefully beyond which we cannot go? I wonder if there are women angels," she added, fixing her eyes dreamily on the distant sky, "for if there is any sex in the other world, I don't want to go there, unless I can be a snail or a lizard or something so amorphous that my higher nature will never bother me."

"But surely," said her friend with a little sigh, "it is better to have some privileges and liberties than to have none at all, isn't it?"

"No!" replied Miss Frances decidedly, "I don't want to have my privileges doled out to me like slices of gingerbread cut thin! I want to feel that I can stand up under any star and shine just as independently and vigorously as I choose. The proper distinction between man and woman!" she added vindictively, "what would I not give to be a plain human being, instead of having been born an ornament to society!"

"I heard of a woman today who would suit you," replied her friend, "I think you might call her a plain human being almost, in spite of her sex."

"Who is that?" exclaimed Miss Frances eagerly.

"She is a delicate little woman not so stalwart as you are," continued her friend, "and was professor in a state university where the admirable law is in force that a married woman cannot hold the office of teacher. She fell in love with one of her pupils, and when he was fitted to take her place married him and let him be professor. After awhile as the proprieties were satisfied by the fact that the office was held by a male, the little wife let her husband go to Europe to complete his education, while she acted as substitute for him at home, did his work and supported him and their little girl during his absence. How she made the two ends meet out of her meagre salary I don't know, but she did all of that and smiles about it."

"That was noble indeed!" cried Miss Frances heartily. "And her husband, what does he think of woman's sphere and the proper distinction between the sexes?"

“What, he?” asked the lady with a hearty laugh, “I think if his wife wanted to enter the lists against John Sullivan he would consider it a perfectly legitimate activity for her, and he would have no hope whatever for Mr. Sullivan in the contest.”

Miss Frances sighed a trifle enviously. “Ah! that is what I call love,” she remarked admiringly, “Do you know,” she asked on a sudden, “whether she darns his socks?”

“Very likely she does, if occasion demands it,” replied her friend, laughing still more heartily, “but I happen to know likewise that he frequently mends his own socks and her stockings, while she reads Goethe to him.”

“I wish I could meet that man,” cried Miss Frances, “and introduce him to Mr. Bellamy. I didn’t tell you my last experience,” she added, seeing her friend’s mystification. “There is a young man on our journal who” (Miss Frances blushed a little, while she looked indignant) “sometimes makes love to me — or at least says things which are very disagreeable.”

“Surely,” interpolated her friend mischievously, “the two terms are not synonymous!”

“At any rate,” continued Miss Frances, “he was talking to me this morning about Nationalism and he took occasion to quote a remark Mr. Bellamy makes descriptive of the marital happiness that will accrue from his system in those pleasant days when it is established. He says that husbands will have more time for love. I never thought any thing about it until that young man spoke of it, but I wish now that Mr. Bellamy had dilated upon the subject more fully, for certainly,” concluded Miss Frances with great decision, “if his idea of love is the same as this young man’s, I should wish that my husband had very little time for it.”

“Now, Frances!” exclaimed her friend smiling, “you know that you are extremely romantic.”

“I know I am romantic,” cried Miss Frances, “but you remember what Balzac says, there is nothing more ennobling than *l’Amour*, nothing so degrading as *la Passion*, and think of it!” she continued, “the French language makes *l’Amour* masculine, and *la Passion* feminine; could ever anything show more plainly what men have made of women? When our Elysium comes,” she added, “there will be no such thing as *la Passion*; *l’Amour* will bind the hearts of men and women so that they will go through life hand in hand without bothering their heads about the ‘proper

distinction between the sexes.' Then husband and friend will be synonymous terms, and a wife will not have to be continually adding a new patch to her opinions to make them fit those of her husband."

"Do you think you will ever marry, Frances?" asked her friend, smiling as she paused for breath.

"Yes," replied the young lady quickly; "whenever I can find a Nationalist who I am sure will never want to go to the Club to talk over things!"

"But I thought you were not a Nationalist any longer, though I cannot see exactly why," said Miss Frances's friend, after a momentary pause.

"Well," replied Miss Frances slowly and thoughtfully, "you see women have never yet had a fair chance at any thing. They have always been put in the position of mendicants, and if they received anything, the world said, in effect, 'you are objects of charity and we will assist you.' Even in the days of the Troubadours when poets were singing the names of fair ladies all over the land, and when those ladies' hearts must have been full of poetry, they could not sing. Oh, no! convention required them simply to be well-schooled and well-dressed and manage their adorers adroitly!"

"But I don't see what that has to do with Nationalism," interjected her friend gently.

"You don't?" responded Miss Frances sharply, "then I suppose you fail to realize how selfish I am. I thought Nationalism was going to offer an equal chance to all mankind irrespective of sex, but it does nothing of the kind so far, it simply leaves us in the position of mendicants, saying,—very sweetly to be sure — 'I'm going to take care of you, I'll let you do certain things which I am sure you are fitted for, and I'll see that you are fairly treated in doing them and that you have equal wages.' That is very good," admitted Miss Frances, "but it is not what I want, and I am considering whether it is worth while to pin my faith to something which for me will only be a make-shift—whether in fact I can be magnanimous," she added smiling.

"What would you have?" asked her friend thoughtfully.

"That is soon told," replied Miss Frances. "I prefer that the Nationalists should say to me, 'my dear young lady, we don't know what you are fitted for, but we want you to do whatever you are capable of doing best, and if you cannot tell what this is, we will give you an education which will enable you to find it out for yourself.' That is what I should call fair, and as long as they do not say this, they don't know what freedom is."

"You see," responded her friend, "they have no conception of what a woman's life is, and how convention hedges her about even in this nineteenth century."

"Yes, and do you know how I would teach them?" exclaimed Miss Frances warmly, "I should like to take every Nationalist, and bind him hand and foot for a day to one of those straight-backed gilded chairs one sees so often in old palaces. I should bind him with golden chains, fan him with perfumed fans, and feed him meanwhile with ice cream and French candy. Then he would realize what it is to be a *fortunate* woman, and why I want freedom and fresh air in such large, unlimited doses!"

The two ladies left the car at this point in the conversation, and as I observed the swinging graceful gait of Miss Frances, I could not avoid thinking to myself, "what dreadful things they said, and how true most of them are!" But surely, my thoughts ran on, Miss Frances will not give up her allegiance to the Nationalist cause. It can not afford to lose such staunch confederates.

MARY H. FORD.

BY THE COAL FIRE.

Rugged, yet polished, glittering, yet swart,
 Stamped with the impress of once giant ferns,
 Fused and transformed somehow, in earth's retort,
 Into yon lump alight, which glows and burns,
 Fed with the pent-up heat of torrid times,
 Treasured and hidden for our colder climes.
 Not senseless, but replete with life, to me
 A master artist painting pictures there,
 Or weaving forms in gorgeous tapestry,
 With graceful arabesques and figures rare;
 Or, tracing high, when twilight shadows fall,
 A wavering hand-writing on the wall.
 Could one those cabalistic letters read
 As Daniel did, to that crowned king of old,
 When from the temple's cups, with heathen greed,
 He and his people pledged their gods of gold,
 Would they speak now, as to the prophet Jew,
 "Weighed in the balance and found wanting too?"
 Wanting in mercy, to our fellow men,
 Doomed to existence in eternal night,
 Each miner poor, a cabin's denizen,
 That we may revel in this warmth and light:
 Thus, with thanksgiving for the gift of coal,
 I mingle prayers for each mine-owner's soul.

MILLIE ANDREWS BELL.

FERDINAND LASSALLE.

"Thinker and Fighter" is the simple and modest inscription on the tombstone of that great man, Ferdinand Lassalle, who with his teaching and action has succeeded almost in changing the whole economic condition of Europe, and whose doctrines are yet destined insensibly to influence every further social change both in the old and new world. Not that he was the first one to promulgate and teach those ideas of socialism, even in his own country; there had already appeared a succession of men who entertained the same views and opinions, and who tried to disseminate them, advocating them as the only feasible and practical laws for the reconstruction of society, and of future unimpeded progression. Fichte, to go no farther, had taught socialism from the standpoint of a speculative philosopher; Weitling had preached it as the new gospel of the poor; the young Hegelians made it a part of their creed; and Karl Marx and his associate, Engel, had summoned the laborers of the whole world in 1848 to make socialism the aim and instrument of a universal revolution. But it was left to Lassalle to bring it down from the clouds and to make it a vivid, living force in the political life of the day.

Lassalle entered on the arena of action by boldly and openly declaring himself "Revolutionary on Principle"; he laughs at those to whom the word "Revolution" represents some horrible social calamity and overthrow. Revolution, as he defines it, means merely transformation, and is accomplished when an entirely new principle, either with or without force, is put in the place of existing things. Reform, on the other hand, is when the principle of the existing state of things is continued, and only developed to more logical or just consequences. The means are of no significance. A reform may be carried out by bloodshed; a revolution may take place in the profoundest tranquillity. The Peasant's War was an attempt to introduce reform by violence; the invention of the spinning-jenny wrought a peaceful revolution. In this sense Lassalle declared himself "Revolutionary on Principle." His mind was essentially practical and logical; his theories burned within his mind, longing for action and application. Assuming a boldly critical and denunciative attitude, he agitated planned insurrections, when on the dissolution of the first Prussian National Assembly, the gift of a constitution, to the disappointment of all parties, was granted by Royal decree and he boldly claimed for every citizen the right and duty of active resistance to the State, when necessary.

“Passive resistance,” he said, “is a contradiction in itself. It is mere ill-will without the outward deed.” A paper constitution, he declared, was of no consequence; it was merely declarative, not creative; the thing of real account was the distribution of power as it existed in actual fact; the king and army were powers; the populace was a power; and society was governed by the relative strength of those powers, not by the paper constitution that merely chronicled it. Yet he was national, patriotic, almost monarchical in a sense, and argued that freedom and democracy in Germany must, as in Italy, be preceded by unity, and that Prussia was the only power able to give unity to Germany, as Piedmont was to Italy. Great attention was being paid at the time to the work of industrial amelioration. The Progressists, including then the present National Liberals under the lead of Schultze Delitzsch, were organizing trade-unions and promoting co-operative works in an experimental way, in which the working classes themselves were beginning to take greater concern. A great number of workmen found the Schultze Delitzsch schemes inadequate, formed themselves into an association and, calling a general workmen’s congress at Leipzig, they invited Lassalle to address them. He responded to the invitation with a letter, in which he sketched the political programme to be followed by the workmen as the first and necessary step of their future economic progression. If all they wanted, he said, was to mitigate some of the positive evils of their lot, then the Schultze Delitzsch scheme of Unions, savings-banks, sick funds, etc., was quite sufficient. But if they wanted to elevate the *normal* condition of their class, then more stringent measures were indispensable. He disapproved of their abstaining altogether from political action, or of siding entirely with the Progressists; they could never achieve the permanent and progressive improvement of their normal condition, without universal suffrage, to which the Progressists were then opposed. He explained to them how their condition was perpetually depressed by the prevailing economic system, especially by the iron and cruel law of wages. The only cure was co-operative production; the substitution of associated labor for wage labor. Co-operative production to be of any effect must be introduced by state help and on state credit. The State advances money to develop railways, manufactures, and agriculture, and nobody calls it socialism. Why cry socialism if the State does a similar service to the working class, who are, in fact, not a class at all, but the State itself? Ninety-six per cent of the population are ground down by the “iron law” and cannot

possibly lift themselves by their own labor, by their own power. They must ask the State to help them, for they are themselves the State ; State help no more supersedes their own self-help than reaching a man a ladder supersedes his own climbing. State help is but self-help's means. History is a record of the incessant struggle of humanity against ignorance and oppression ; and the course of legal history shows a gradual but steady contraction of the sphere of private property in the interests of personal freedom and development. Under the ancient system of slavery the laborer was the absolute and complete property of his master ; under the feudal state of servitude, he was still only partially proprietor of himself, but remained bound by law to a particular lord by a series of specific services. Society has declared against it ; and now there is no longer property in man, or in the use of man. Still a man is far from being in possession of himself or of his labor. He cannot work without materials or tools, and for these the modern laborer is more dependent than ever laborer was before on the private owners in whose hands those materials have accumulated. Consequently the modern laborer is obliged to part with the whole value of his labor and content himself with a bare subsistence in return for those materials. For under the exigencies of an economic state of competition, the proprietors cannot help offering, and workmen cannot help accepting wages far under the value of their labor. The object, therefore, of the new movement is not to abolish private property, but to purify it by means of some systematic social regulation which shall give each man a share more befitting his own merits and contributions. Millions of laboring men are daily and hourly engaged in making new property ; they are converting their brain, muscle, and sinew into useful commodities, into value, into wealth ; and the problem of the age is, whether the property to be made in the future should not become genuine labor property, and remain in the hands of those who actually produce it.

The characteristic of this new idea, says Lassalle in his "workingman's programme," is that it will for the first time give labor its rights, future society being dominated by the ideas, aspirations, and interests of the great laboring class. This time is already come, and the age of the bourgeois is already past and dead, though it still lingers in law. A revolution is always declarative and never creative ; it takes place first in the heart of society and is only sealed and ratified by an external outbreak. It is impossible to make a revolution ; it is only possible to give external legal

sanction and effect to a revolution already contained in the actual circumstance of society. It is idle, he says, to reproach as revolutionaries the men who help to bring about this age of labor. They are only midwives who assist in bringing to birth a future with which society is already pregnant. He says of the fourth estate: What is the fourth estate? Nothing; what ought it to be? Everything. It ought to be so in law, because it is so in fact. The laborer is deprived of all political rights and privileges; he is everywhere exploited; all the burthens really lie on him alone. According to statistical returns, it appeared that five-sixths of the revenue of Prussia came from indirect taxation, which is always taken disproportionately from the pockets of the workingman. A man may be twenty times richer than another, but he does not necessarily consume twenty times the amount of bread, salt or beer. Taxation ought to be in ratio of means, and indirect taxation, so much favored by the bourgeois, was simply an expedient for saving the rich at the expense of the poor.

What is the State? asks Lassalle. You are the State, he replies. You are ninety-six per cent of the population. All political power ought to be through you, of you, and for you; and your good and amelioration ought to be the aim of the State. The fourth estate differs from all the other estates, in so much that it can never degenerate into a class, a privileged class; because, consisting as it does of the great body of people, its class interest and the common good are identical, or at least harmonious. Your affair is the affair of mankind; your personal interests move and beat with the pulse of history, with the living principle of moral development. What is the present function of the State? To protect personal freedom and property. It is a mere night-watchman and, if there were no thieves, no robbers, its occupation would be gone; it would become a superfluity.

Now, what ought the State to be! To protect men in an *equality of right* to freedom, to which its function is now limited, is not sufficient; this ought to be supplemented by securing solidarity of interests and community and reciprocity of development. The end and function of the State should not be to guard freedom, but to develop it. The State is the union of individuals into a moral whole which multiplies in a million-fold the aggregate power of each; and its function is to put individuals who comprise it in a position to attain and maintain such objects, such levels of existence, such culture as they would not have been capable of reaching by their own individual efforts; it is the great agency for guiding and training the human race to positive and progressive development; to bring

human destiny to real shape in actual existence, and forward man's progressive conquest over misery, ignorance, and restrictions of every sort. The State is bound to realize and take for the governing principle of its legislative and executive work the fact, that every man is entitled to an existence worthy of his moral destiny. Man's destiny is towards progressive civilization and a state of society like the present, which makes progressive civilization the property of the few, stands self-condemned. Society has declared that no man shall be enslaved, and the fall of feudalism was accomplished; society has declared that no man shall be ignorant, and religious despotism has crumbled; society now declares that no man shall be without property. He cannot be really free without property, as he cannot be free without knowledge. He has got physical and intellectual emancipation; he must now get economic emancipation, without which he cannot really enjoy the fruits of the two preceding stages, and which cannot take place without a complete transformation of the present industrial arrangements. For the freeman cannot realize his freedom, the individual cannot realize his individuality, without a certain external economic basis of work and enjoyment, and the best way to furnish him with this is to clothe him in various ways with collective property. To do this, Lassalle maintains, it is necessary to effect a fundamental reconstruction of the present system, and by new methods determine the remuneration of the laboring class. In the present system there is a profound contradiction. It is unprecedentedly communistic in production, and singularly individualistic in distribution. There ought to be a real participation in the product, as there is already a joint participation in the work. Capital must become the servant of labor instead of being its master; profits must disappear, industry must be conducted more on the mutual, instead of the proprietary, principle; the instruments of production must be taken from private hands and turned into collective and national property. Only on these principles, on the principles of solidarity in freedom, can the future progressive state of society be firmly founded, and the moral, mental, and physical faculties of the individual find free scope of development.

These are the doctrines taught and promulgated by Ferdinand Lassalle, which, since the romantic life of their author ended in his tragic and premature death, have pervaded the reforms of almost all the legislatures of Europe, and which are yet destined to animate the movements, and inspire the reformers, of new countries and nations.

ROMAN I. ZUBOFF.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A FRUIT OF "PRIVATE ENTERPRISE."

One of the worst fruits of the competitive system is its encouragement of adulterations. The Massachusetts Board of Health reports that of the samples of food examined in the past year, 30.9 per cent. were adulterated; of milk, 39.6 per cent.; of drugs, 26.4 per cent. So long as these things are left to "private enterprise," so long will cheapening of wares by adulteration and poor quality continue. The milk business is one of the first that should be assumed by municipalities, for a purity of supply would thus be assured, and upon that the health of the new-born generations largely depends. The infants of the poor are now particularly at the mercy of this villany.

A MONOPOLY'S PROFITS.

That extortionate monopoly, the Western Union Telegraph Company, reports receipts for its past year amounting to \$20,783,000; expenses \$14,565,000, and profits of \$6,218,000, with an average toll of 31.2 per cents a message, and an average cost to the company of 22.4 cents a message. Therefore the public is paying to the company a profit of nearly 30 per cent. for a service which the national government might render with a postal telegraph at an enormous reduction in cost, for it should be remembered that, in estimating the expense to the company, the charges upon its capital, watered to four times the worth of its plant, are figured.

THE VALUE OF STATISTICS.

Massachusetts has begun the publication of annual statistics of manufactures, in place of its decennial census returns on the subject. In this way material for accurate comparisons of the state of industry from year to year is afforded. This is an important and invaluable step, for the gathering of exact statistics forms an essential feature of the Nationalist plan. With the condition of all industries thoroughly known at all times, production can be regulated with clock-work accuracy when its instruments are in the hands of their rightful owners, — the people — and with the statistical machinery well constructed in advance, as instanced by the afore-mentioned measure, the assumption of industries by the State, is made an easier step.

A NOTABLE STEP FORWARD.

An encouraging mark of progress is the action of the Boston Executive Business Association in unanimously accepting an elaborate report from a special committee on taxation. The association is thoroughly representative of the great mercantile interests of the city, and the report suggests radical changes in the financial system. It cannot accept the Single Tax system of Henry George, "although there

is good in it," as it says, but it favors restricting all municipal taxation to real estate with discrimination in favors of agricultural lands, and a certain grade of dwellings, and advocates a legacy and inheritance tax. Municipal control of lighting is favored, and the Massachusetts Legislature is condemned for defeating the Danvers electric-light bill. In regard to the three natural monopolies of electric lighting, gas, and street-railways, it urges "that the city should have authority before granting any further privileges or franchises, to lay a reasonable tax upon the gross receipts of the enormous corporations that are more and more taking possession of our streets, and thereby illustrating the enormous value of those franchises, which, although the birth-right of the city, have, by her neglect in the past, enriched none so little as herself." The Boston Nationalists having given the latter reform a strong impetus at the State House last spring, it is evident that the popular sentiment then developed will soon carry it through triumphantly.

THE IMMORALITY OF IT.

In the Massachusetts political campaign of this autumn, the brilliant young democratic candidate for Governor, the Hon. William E. Russell, who had spoken severely about legislative corruption and the influence of the lobby, was censured by his opponents for appearing at the State House himself in the service of corporations. It will be remembered that Mr. Russell took a leading part among the counsel opposed to the petition of Danvers for the right to supply its citizens with electric light. Mr. Russell, in reply, said that "the opposing party, having made, by many precedents, wealth a necessary qualification for office, wish now to go a step farther, and compel a man to give up all chance of acquiring a competency, or even a livelihood by abandoning his professional work." It is true that the amenities of our present social structure do not hold a lawyer personally responsible for opinions expressed in a professional capacity, but the condition is nevertheless a deplorable and immoral one. Neither Mr. Russell, nor any other member of his profession, is to blame for this; the fault lies with the system, which so exalts the value of money above all else in the world that men of all callings may, without dishonor, sell their talents in almost any service for hire. And one of the strongest holds of private corporations upon their power, detrimental to the welfare of the people, is through their ability to retain the services of strong men influential in politics, and thereby exert a great influence upon legislation merely by the favor with which those men are regarded by their political followers. And when these men are dependent upon the patronage of great corporations for the advancement of their personal fortunes, it is natural that they should not care to see the power of these corporations diminished. It is thus that the efforts of the people towards self-help are thwarted by their popular leaders, and herein lies the moral wrong, however it may be sanctioned by usage.

OUR WORK.

It is one of the fundamental principles of Nationalism, that each citizen shall receive, first a general education and then a thorough training, fitting for special work. This furnishes a valuable hint as to the best method at present of advancing our cause. While its fundamental principles are well settled, which of them should be emphasised most is still a matter of conjecture. So it is as to which practical step the more conservative elements in the community will most readily support first. It seems as if, while such are the conditions under which we must labor, the course now followed by our clubs is eminently wise. Let each club continue to be a center of influence, working to create in its own section a public sentiment in favor of Nationalism, and with stability of movement, advance from town to town and from city to city. Continue that most efficient method of encouraging small gatherings at private residences, where such will come together who could not be reached by large mass meetings.

There are two obvious advantages in such a course besides that of gaining a hearing among the more thoughtful; first, it produces a more direct personal enthusiasm for the cause than could otherwise be secured; but more than that, it trains a large number of men and women in the most rational and effective manner to enter larger fields. Speakers, thus coming into such close touch with the people, will better understand the difficulties and the doubts which present themselves to the more thoughtful, and will be enabled to judge better what points in presentation are most effective in overcoming such objections. There is altogether too much shooting into the air.

By patiently following this method we will soon have a splendid corps of men and women thoroughly equipped, both with facts and experience, to push with tremendous force all along the line. By the law of natural selection the men and women best fitted for it, will, without any artificial selection, become our representative lecturers. To this end no club should rest satisfied until every evening in the week it has some of its members engaged in the work.

THE RIGHT TO STOP WORKING.

The New York Nation says the young men go to the city and "soon have their heads filled with the new gospel, that a capitalist who employs anybody is bound to maintain him in decent circumstances as long as he requires it." Did the Nation ever reflect that it is the laborer, the wealth producer, who supports the capitalist, and without him his capital would be dross? No one has said that the capitalist is bound to maintain the laborer as long as he may require it for the simple reason that the capitalist maintains no one, not even himself. The Nation seems to forget that any man or any number of men, collectively or individually, have a right to cease work when they are not getting a sufficiency of the wealth they produce to maintain themselves decently.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

MASSACHUSETTS: BOSTON. The Nationalist Club will soon move into handsomer and more commodious quarters where the continually increasing work can be handled more expeditiously. At the regular October meeting John Orvis, Esq., read to a crowded house a paper which was highly appreciated.

Club No. 2 was organized at the South End, Thursday, October 24, at No. 3 Concord square, by H. L. Legate. Miss Lelia J. Robinson, the celebrated lady lawyer, was elected chairman, and Miss Forsyth secretary. The club starts out with about 30 members.

CALIFORNIA: SAN DIEGO. A magazine in advocacy of Nationalism is about to be started in this city by Geo. R. Moore. He will endeavor to make it the organ of Nationalism on this coast and it will be ably conducted. Mr. Moore is an experienced newspaper man and is heart and soul in the cause. He is to reprint in leaflet form "A Workingman's View of Nationalism," from the Nationalist, to use as propaganda. The question of free-water is already being discussed in San Diego.

LOS ANGELES. The progress of Nationalism here is decidedly phenomenal. Rev. R. M. Webster, of Long Beach (Congregationalist), addressed the club last Sunday. 500 persons were present, the applause was incessant throughout his discourse, and at the conclusion it was uproarious. Scores of both men and women awaited him in both aisles to shake hands with him and express their appreciation of this new gospel. Sceptics gathered in knots and exclaimed: "Well, if all ministers preached like that, there would be no infidels." Mr. Webster has promised to address the club again on Sunday, the 27th inst., and the club has secured the Pavilion for this purpose containing 3,500 seats. Column reports of our meeting appear in all the dailies, and people drive in 15 and 20 miles to hear the glad tidings. One of our leading ministers called upon the President of the club to secure information about the movement. He endorsed all that Mr. Webster said and agreed to address the club in the near future after he had studied the doctrine more fully. Mr. Cook goes to Downey (12 miles) to organize a club this week.

A gentleman in Fullerton, Orange County, writes as follows: "Under 'Steps on the Road' you warn us that 'undue haste can retard it.' Please send some Anti-Nationalist speakers out here—to put on the brakes—for if something is not done and that quickly, the Californian that is not a Nationalist will be as great a curiosity as the Kentuckian without a corkscrew. Four thousand copies of Looking Backward have been sold in the city of Los Angeles and sale constantly increasing. A Nationalist paper is published in Los Angeles and another one starting. The First Club there has over 250 members. Clubs are now being organized in Fullerton,

Orange, Santa Anna, and Anaheim; and the remarkable feature of their membership is that every one in these towns comes in—from banker to barber. Some plan must be formulated to instruct our congressional nominees, as it is generally thought that by the next congressional election California will send a solid Nationalist delegation.”

OAKLAND. Mrs. Harriet F. Stevens corresponding secretary of this club writes under date of October 11, as follows: “We continue to hold meetings every Monday evening. When we do not have lectures we discuss a chapter of Gronlund and Co-operative Commonwealth. At our last meeting, October 7, we took up the eighth chapter of that work. We have had also lively discussions on the city’s owning the water and gas works. On Sept. 23, Mr. Howe gave us a lecture on money, and on Sept. 16th Mr. Charles Sumner who has represented California in Congress gave us a lecture on Postal Telegraphy.”

OCEAN VIEW. The Nationalist Club officers are as follows: H. A. Sully, President; Col. G. Thistleton, Recording Secretary; Mrs. M. Thistleton, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. D. A. Smith, Treasurer. The above form the preliminary organization. Other officers will be duly elected next meeting. Number of members, 28.

Mrs. Anna Ferry Smith writes under recent date as follows: “The clubs in actual existence in Southern California are few in number as yet, but the outlook is favorable for an increased membership in the immediate future. The villages away from the railroads are far apart in this country and, as in all new places, travelling is difficult and expensive. Notwithstanding these obstacles the people are being roused to the importance of the new movement by having the gospel of Nationalism preached to them. There are three clubs in Los Angeles, two English and one German. The first Nationalist Club of San Diego has at present 157 members. The first National Club of National City has a membership of 45. J. P. Griffith, President, George R. Moore, Secretary, P. O., National City. There are numerous clubs in the Northern part of the State but we people seem to be shut off by ourselves, and as yet there seems to be no concerted action or bond of union between us. I have spoken in various places and am very hopeful that in the near future clubs will be organized in Poway, Otay, Encinitas, Escindido and a number of other places. I shall report clubs as fast as organized.”

NEW YORK: ALBANY. A preliminary meeting was held Sept. 10th. On the 19th, after a lecture by Mr. J. W. Kenyon which attracted quite an audience, the club was organized. Another meeting was held on the 26th. The club is to meet hereafter the first and third Monday of each month and a hall has been engaged for that purpose. The club has adopted the Declaration of Principles of the Boston Club and the Constitution, with some slight changes. The officers elected are: Ernest A. Norris, President, Charles Orten, Vice-President, William I. McClure, who

is also Treasurer pro tem, Secretary. The club had another meeting October 7. There were about sixty present and several names were added to the roll. Mr. W. F. Peck was the speaker and gave a good address.

NEW YORK CITY. The movement in this city is taking on huge proportions under the active supervision of Professor De Leon. Three clubs are organized, seven more are in process, and it is expected before January 1, that fully 50 clubs will be organized in this city alone. Efforts are being made to organize New Jersey with considerable prospects of success. An important gathering was that of the labor editors of the country in this city, October 11 and 12. The Nationalist was represented by H. W. Austin and C. F. Willard. After forming a Labor Press Association, to include all editors of labor papers in America, and one of whose functions shall be to exchange labor news, addresses were delivered on Nationalism by Henry W. Austin and Professor De Leon, and on the Eight Hour Question by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. About 17 editors were present, and letters were received from about 20 more expressing the intention of abiding by the action of the association. About 100 more papers have editorially announced their approval of what might be done to bring the labor papers together.

Henry F. Reed, Secretary of Club No. 3, under date of Sept. 28, writes as follows: "Club No. 3 of New York was organized Sept. 3, with the following officers: Isaac Broome, Chairman, Henry F. Reed, Secretary, and Lazarus Abelson, Treasurer. We have had up to the present, three meetings and are doing quite well. We hope, in a short time, to make quite a respectable showing in point of numbers. We have among those proposed for membership a student of 'Union Medical College' who informs me that he intends organizing a club to be composed of students who attend that college."

Club No. 8 was organized in Monument Hall, Thursday evening, October 31. Full details will be given in the next number.

MINNESOTA: MINNEAPOLIS. A young people's club organized September 24, with a membership of fifteen. The President, Miss Kate Fellis, is a brilliant young lady, and the club was organized at her home.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: WASHINGTON. The club is making good progress; rooms have been secured for meetings and library at 609 F st., N. W. It has been named Nationalist Hall. Progress is being made with a petition to Congress for means of illumination, and it is thought a good showing will be made. The club is working in earnest and with faith in the progress of the cause.

The following resolutions were passed at the last meeting of our club:

Resolved 1st, That it is the sentiment of the Nationalist Club No. 1, of Washington, D. C., that the October number of the Nationalist is the

superior, and — if comparisons in the cause of the Brotherhood of Man are unkind — certainly the equal of any issue of the Nationalist heretofore published.

Resolved 2d, That the women who, by their articles in the October Nationalist, have so nobly furthered the realization of the new and higher ideal we have at heart, deserve and have our highest appreciation and admiration.

Resolved 3d, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the management of the Nationalist.

In transmitting these resolutions, I can only add my special and personal commendation.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. CLANCY, *Sec'y.*

A CO-OPERATIVE PLAN OF STATISTICS.

EDITOR NATIONALIST :

Please allow me to present the following to Nationalists through the columns of your esteemed magazine.

Almost every speaker and debater in the labor movement must have experienced the annoyance of not having the time to consult the authorities for certain facts and figures used in support of his arguments. He may have been perfectly certain of their correctness and his opponent, perhaps, equally so, and yet the latter, if insisting on the authorities, was able to score an apparent victory.

Almost every writer in this field would be immeasurably aided and relieved of needless drudgery if condensed digests, summarizing the countless facts and statistics bearing on the various sociological topics, were at hand.

But, so far as I know, little or nothing has been done to produce such digests especially with reference to the United States for the last fifty years. No one has attempted in a methodical way to bring the data, scattered over almost numberless publications, to a focus or even to "boil down" the voluminous records of the Census Office, the Statistical Bureau, the Bureau of Labor, the Reports of Congressional and other investigations, touching industrial life and abuses, etc.

Yet, as I started to say, such condensed tracts or digests giving all the pregnant facts with sufficient reference to the authorities would be of the most inestimable value to the promoters of our cause. Not only that, many of these tracts would serve *per se*, as valuable means of propaganda.

How can we obtain such digests? Let me make a proposition.

Nationalists would find here a field for demonstrating the value of co-operation by applying a part of their time to this task. Let a series of

topics be agreed upon and then let them be distributed among the Nationalist Clubs now existing. If there be more topics than clubs, or if some of the clubs cannot take charge of a topic, then the most urgent ones should be taken up first and the others left to await further accessions.

As topics I would suggest the following: Distribution of Wealth; Rate of Concentration of Capital; Rise and Fall of Wages (on an average and for different trades); Wages as Compared with Price of Living; Growth of the Unemployed; Increase of Woman and Child Labor; Growth of Poverty; Charitable Institutions; Accidents to and Mortality among Workmen; Replacement of Skilled by Unskilled Labor; Effects of Machinery especially as to Comparative Productive Power; Bankruptcies; Decline of Farming; Dependence of Farmers on Railroads and Bankers; Influence of Wealth and Monopolies on Legislation; Co-operative Experiments; the Patent System, etc.

Beside these, digests should be published giving the most valuable facts in the standard authorities, such as those referred to above and such works as Rogers "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," etc.

It would not be necessary to give much more than brief statements coupled with a sufficient reference to the authorities.

I venture to say that a small fraction of the time now spent in isolated and comparatively ineffectual efforts of this character, would under a combined action of all the clubs, suffice to produce an accurate, reliable series of tracts. It could and should be entrusted to other hands than those now busy in agitation and propoganda. A division of labor and a union of efforts, the cardinal principle of co-operation, would in a short time create one of the most valuable contributions to sociological literature and would not fail to greatly accelerate the movement. Such, at least, is my opinion.

The results of the work could from time to time be published in the Nationalist, the official organ of the party and, when complete, issued in the form of cheap tracts, as already stated.

The "Committees on Information" are, as far as I understand, entrusted with similar work, but as long as they act in the present isolated manner without an intellectual "clearing-house" their work can be but fragmentary, confined almost exclusively to extracts from the current press and reference to noteworthy articles in magazines and reviews; a work whose value I would, however, not be considered as depreciating. Even these could be made more effective and available by a proper exchange through the organ of all the clubs, which, I hope, will soon be welded into a League.

I consider this a matter of consequence and would be glad if it should receive careful consideration by those concerned.

Fraternally,

Washington, Oct. 23, 1889.

MAX GEORGH.

ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

J. FOSTER BISCOE, EDITOR.

Six months ago the least mention in the most obscure sheet of the fact that there was such a thing as Nationalism was a crumb of encouragement. Now, as we sit at the table with a mass of papers before us, we know that there is scarcely a daily or weekly in whose numbers for the current month we shall not find a discussion of some phase or application of the principle of organizing industry in the interest of all the people.

Wendell Phillips, whose voice can be heard in this, "The last great protest against the wrong of ages," declares that, "In working these great changes, in such an age as ours, the so-called statesman has far less influence than the many little men who, at various points, are silently maturing a regeneration of public opinion. This is a reading and thinking age, and great interests at stake quicken the general intellect. Stagnant times have been when a great mind, anchored in error, might snag the slow moving current of society. Such is not our era; and any name, however illustrious, which links itself to abuses, is sure to be overwhelmed by the impetuous current of that society which (thanks to the press and a reading public!) is potent always to clear its own channel."

The lotus spirit of Autumn still lingers and we feel inclined to turn aside from this pile of magazines whose articles demand vigorous thinking. Let us leave their pages uncut for another month and enjoy the short and pithy sayings of the daily press. But Rumor stops us; she travels fast; especially when there is something uncanny to whisper and she whispers that a great name has spoken, linking itself to abuses. It is certainly uncanny that an Hegelian should attack the principle of Nationalism. Those of us who have in the past looked to Prof. Wm. T. Harris for leadership deeply regret this turning aside from the teaching of Hegel: from Hegel whose whole philosophy of history centres around the development of the State; who taught that Civilization is but the unfolding of the world Spirit. From its birth in a State in which the individual lived in unthinking submission to a central will power, its course has been and will continue through one civilization after another onward, upward and outward, till in its fulness it shall inspire a State in which the individual shall feel, that his life in its conscious purpose and devotion is in perfect harmony with the purpose and life of the State, and in this total abnegation of selfish struggling the ideal Man and ideal State shall bless the world. It is strange, indeed, that Professor Harris, the American standard bearer of Hegel's teachings, should attack the first genuine American movement inspired by faith in the truth of the Hegelian State. Will the adage ever cease to be true, that the philosopher is too scholastic to understand the practical application of his own philosophy?

THE SPIRIT FOSTERED BY COMPETITION.

(Hampshire County Journal.)

"Under the competitive system, a farmer hopes for big crops on his own farm and short crops on his neighbors. He hopes for the sum of all villany — war — with all its horrors, in order that production shall be cut off and prices increased. The manufacturer is pleased to hear that his neighbor's factory has burned and that he has failed. That is to say, these mens' interests compel these hopes, unless they are men enough to love their neighbors as themselves, and few attain to that high standard under our monstrous system."

COUNSEL FROM PUCK.

When the Court jester turns from jest to earnest, he speaks so wisely that the Court finds more sound advice in his moment of saneness than in all the harangues of its Councillors. Every Nationalist, who is aching to form a party of his own and enter the political arena with his own candidates, should read the whole of Puck's editorial for October 16th. We quote a few sentences: "The Knights of Labor had a membership of several hundred thousand. This was no small organization. Its leaders had such control of it that they ordered it to engage in strikes which involved the loss of millions of dollars and of many lives. And yet these same leaders were so narrow-minded, so hot-headed, so dazed and confused that they failed to realize that they held the power to enforce any policy they saw fit upon either of the great parties of the country. They undertook to show their strength by nominating 'labor candidates', who were as a rule defeated at the polls by enormous majorities."

Votes for the candidates of the fourth, fifth or sixth little party count for nothing. But let it be understood that our votes and influence are for that one of the two large parties, which goes the farthest in advocating our principles, and both parties will mould their platforms to meet our approval and their candidates will privately pledge their support to more radical measures. Votes count. Thus we strengthen our position and, when the time comes to stand forth, an independent third party, we will find we have taken all the brain and sinew of one of the large parties with us, leaving a few moss-backs to perform proper obsequies over its corpse.

COMPETITION VS. CO-OPERATION.

(American Machinist.)

A PICTURE DRAWN AT PARIS BY A DISINTERESTED ARTIST.

"Broad, well-paved, and well-kept streets, shady avenues, parks, open courts where quiet dwelling-places front, in place of our filthy back yards; noble buildings, a union of feeling where all join to make the whole square

one harmonious building rather than each man for himself, and so getting a dozen different kinds of buildings in every block. The above might well form the text for many a useful sermon. The same difference between the French and American mind and character, the union of ideas and spirit in the one, the individual selfishness — the great 'I am' of each individual in the other — is as marked in the exhibition as in the cities of Paris and New York. Every American has his own display in his own way, using his own taste, good or bad, or none, as he sees fit, while among the French large numbers join together, put the matter in the hands of a good designer, and form long avenues of exhibits in one harmonious whole, each with an equal chance and with the advantage of an attractive display in an attractive section."

IT IS THE LOGIC OF EVENTS.

(Harper's Weekly.)

"The question of State Socialism presents itself in unexpected forms, which shows how unconsciously its principle is accepted even by those who would reject the abstract theory. The phrase body-politic assumes the State to be a unit, an organized community, which may provide at its pleasure for its own advantage. This is the ground upon which it establishes a system of public schools, not for the benefit of individual scholars, but of the State. The Post-Office is maintained with the same view, and the question whether the State should not carry passengers as well as parcels is obviously one of expediency only. It would not imply the introduction of a new principle into the action of the government. A late instance of the progress of the general principle of State aid is found in Chicago. The law requires children to attend school. But they cannot be compelled to attend without proper clothes, and a large number of the children are too poor to be decently clad" (*Oh! the shame of it! Innocent children, too poor to be decently clad because their parents are under the wheels, and yet men sit in broadcloth and extol the system of competition!*) "The Board of Education, therefore, in order to secure compliance with the law has applied to the County Board for a supply of clothing, which the County Board refuses. The Courts may justify the decision of the Board of Education or the Legislature may be asked to decide the question. It would hardly repeal the law because of the extreme poverty of the beneficiaries. Yet, if it requires children to go to school whose parents cannot properly clothe them, the State must clothe them."

This shows with what wonderful genius Edward Bellamy has foreseen not only the goal, but has seen the path along which we are walking, and pointed out this turn in the road. He wrote lately: "It is my earnest hope that the Nationalist Clubs may see their way clear to formulating and presenting to the voters of the State as a test for Legislative candidates at the next State election, a demand for a law raising the age of compulsory

education to at least seventeen years and the school year to at least thirty-five weeks, with a sufficient State provision for the support of the children of indigent parents while at school."

This appeal in Chicago throws a flood of light on another fact. When our ancestors established the common school system it was for children of equal station in life. In the Colonial days the parents were conscious of no more difference in station than their children and, having forbidden distinction in rank and primogeniture, they thought they had founded a State in which equality and fraternity would last forever. But they left an industrial system, which has gone on changing this till now, with wide gaps between the parents, men, grasping at straws, look to the children to hold the social State in equilibrium. The peril is real. For if, now the chasm has become so wide that only by State aid can even the semblance of equality among our children be preserved, the people do not wake at once to the danger of the situation, the last strand, the common school, will snap. And here, too, is the first step to take back from the precipice to which industrial competition has brought our civilization.

SHALL THE PEOPLE SUPPLY THEMSELVES WITH GAS
AND ELECTRIC LIGHT?

The Boston Transcript in its report of the Republican State Convention remarks: "The convention sent to the committee on platform a resolution, offered by Capt. Charles E. Bowers, of Somerville, — that we favor a general law permitting cities and towns to supply their inhabitants with gas and electric lights, — *and that was the last of it.*"

No, my friend, that was the first of it. The last of it will come only when some party, having accomplished that and other reforms in the interest of all the people, and having grown old, shall fill its platform with self-glorification of its past and platitudes for its future.

